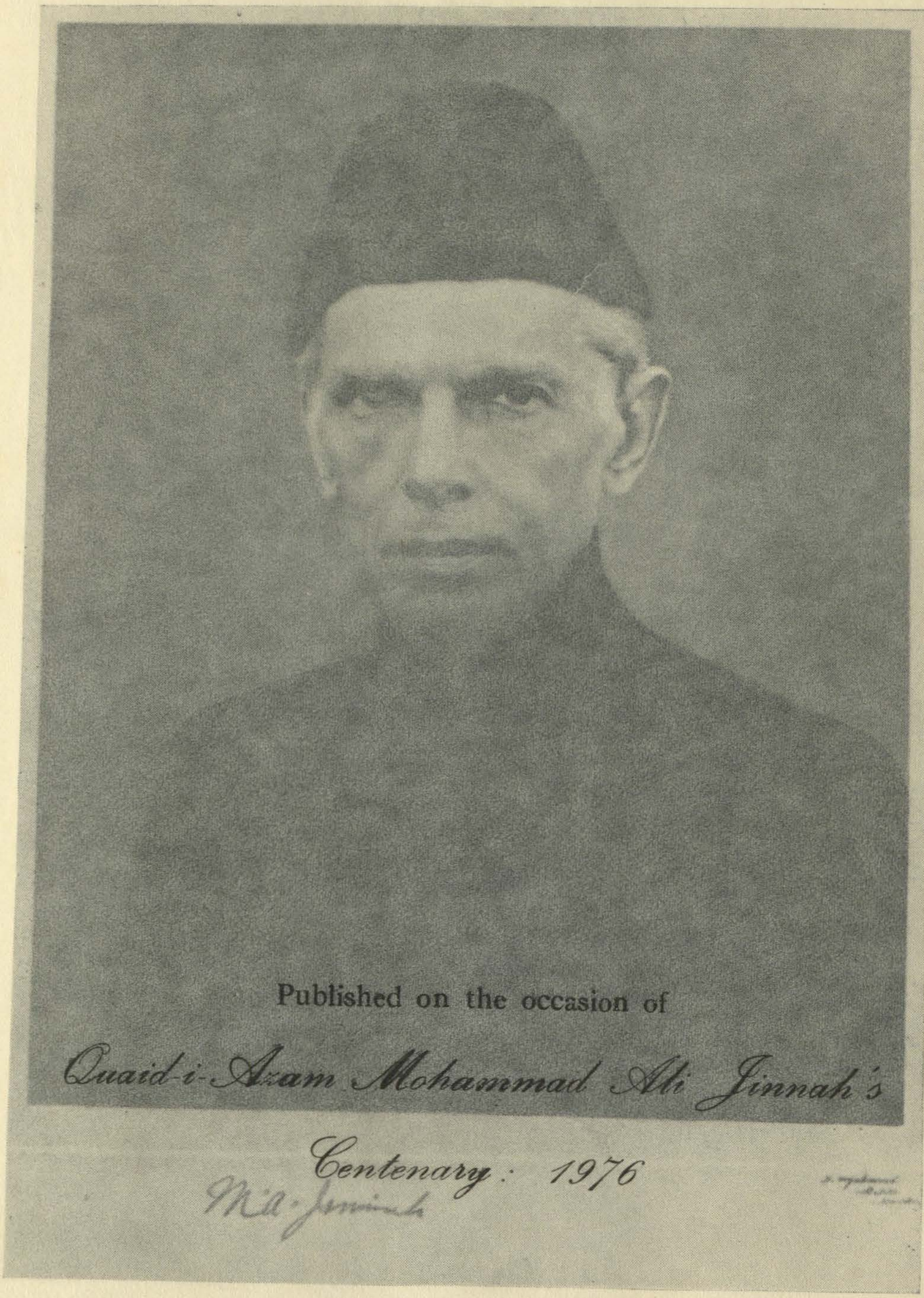
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

FOUNDER OF PAKISTAN

PROF. ZIAUDDIN AHMAD


Published on the occasion of
Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's
Centenary : 1976
M. A. Jinnah

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Founder of Pakistan

PRICE: Rs. 40.00
US $ 6.00

Ministry of Information & Broadcasting
(Directorate of Research, Reference and Publications)
Government of Pakistan

Printed at Fakhri Printing Press, Karachi

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Edited by

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PREFACE

MY FIRST contact with the Quaid-i-Azam was in 1938. It was again renewed in 1942 at the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League through the courtesy of my uncle, Allama Dr. Syed Najmuddin Ahmad Jafri, Bar-at-Law, who organised the entire publicity of the League. I was inspired to write a number of articles on the President of the League in some of the leading English dailies and weeklies of the subcontinent including my own papers the "Onward" and the "New Order". As the Pakistan Movement gained momentum and got its roots deep in the masses, the personality of this leader with his matchless integrity and selfless devotion shone like a bright star and exercised a considerable influence on me; I, therefore, made up my mind to write an authentic book on the personality and achievements of the great leader.

Animated with this spirit I collected a large number of literature and articles from the pen of eminent scholars, politicians and thinkers who had been closely associated with the leader and taken active part in the Pakistan Movement. After sifting and editing the best articles depicting various aspects and phases of the Quaid's life, I have also endeavoured to present a concise and comprehensive history of the emergence of Pakistan since 1707 and the heroic role of Mohammad Ali Jinnah in creating a new Islamic State.

The Quaid's magnetic personality made a great impression on the mind of H.V. Hodson, the Constitutional Adviser of the Viceroy (1941-42) for he writes in his book "The Great Divide": "How did he become the single-minded leader of his community, the scourge of Congress and the hammer of the Hindus, the man who framed and accomplished the colossal ambition of destroying India's Unity by carving from her body a new Islamic nation? One thing is certain: It was not for any venal motive that he changed. Not even his political enemies ever accused Jinnah of corruption or self-seeking. He could be bought by no one, and for no price. Nor was he in the least degree a weather-cock, swinging in the wind of popularity or changing his politics to suit the chances of the times. He was a steadfast idealist as well as a man of scrupulous honour." (pp 38-39).

How correctly Hodson diagnoses the personality and leadership of the Quaid who succeeded in founding a new Islamic State. He writes: "For the Muslims, as a heaven-sent leader of their 'national' cause, he had two supreme qualities. The first was his single-mindedness. Having set his hand to the task of uniting his community behind a demand for recognition as a nation, nothing deterred him, least of all the practical difficulties of separation.......... His second great quality was unrivalled tactical skill. He knew how to take advantage of every situation, however unpromising, above all how to delay commitment, leaving opponents to make their mistakes................and they made many. A point once gained was never lost: it became the starting-ground for the next point to be demanded. The counter-tactics that could have defeated Mr. Jinnah's tactics seem obvious enough: but neither in respect of personalities and singleness of leadership, nor in respect of its refusal to compound its claim to represent all Indians, was the Congress capable of adopting them." (pp 42-43).

My warmest thanks are due to Messrs Amjad Ali and Mohammad Abdus Subhan Khan for their valuable advice and suggestions. I am also grateful to the State Bank of Pakistan, the Department of Archaeology and Mahmood & Co., Karachi, for providing me with some of the best photographs of the Quaid-i-Azam.

To my wife, Aziza Begum I owe a special debt for all her sincere devotion, her stimulus, her encourgement and all her tolerance of the sacrifice of time and great endurance for this noble task.

I hope the book would be welcomed by all those who advocated and fought for the cause of Pakistan Movement. And doubtless any valuable suggestion from our learned readers would be acceptable with pleasure.

Karachi, Ziauddin Ahmad
March 23, 1976

INTRODUCTION

RISE OF PAKISTAN

by Professor Ziauddin Ahmad

SINCE the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the signs of decay of the Mughal Empire appeared on the horizon of Indo-Pakistan. Gradually the leadership became weaker and weaker, and the lack of sound statesmanship gradually affected the solidarity of the State. Small independent principalities sprang up and they challenged the suzerainty of the central government of Delhi. The decline and disintegration of political power gave rise to an era of anarchy which afforded a chance to the East India Company to lay the foundations of the British Empire, with their growing naval and military power and advanced diplomacy and strategy.

Two hundred and forty years separate Mughal India from Pakistan. How was the patrimony of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent reduced by over eighty per cent, and what did they undergo between 1707 and 1947 are the themes of this introduction. It is an interesting, revealing, but a sad story.

The Mughal Emperor no doubt lived in the Red Fort of Delhi all the time from 1707 till 1857 but he was an Emperor only in name. In 1857 Bahadur Shah Zafar fled for his life to the tomb of Humayun on the outskirts of Delhi ; and thus came to an end the glorious Mughal Empire established by Babur in 1625. During hundred and fifty years after the death of the last great Mughal, Aurangzeb in 1707 upto 1857, there came one after the other, more than a dozen Emperors in the Red Fort, all the way from Bahadur Shah I to Bahadur Shah II. But the inter-play of many factors, had been

eroding their *de facto* power, from one Emperor to the next. Jahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar, Mohammad Shah and Ahmad Shah were not as powerful as Bahadur Shah I. Similarly Alamgir II, Shah Alam II, Akbar II and lastly Bahadur Shah II were Emperors more in name than in fact.

The story of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire is a chronicle of moral weakness, inefficiency, intrigue, self-interest, and treachery. It may be recalled that out of a dozen Mughal Emperors, in between the two Bahadur Shahs (1707—1857) four were murdered by their own nobles. These satraps not only intrigued in the palace trying to set up a Prince of their own choice on the Peacock Throne, they loosened the hold of the Red Fort on the Provincial Governments. It was not a case of Bengal and Deccan alone. Allahabad, Oudh, Gujrat, Burhanpur, Punjab, Kabul, the Subedars or Governors of all these Provinces did not declare themselves independent, in so many words, but to all intents and purposes, they functioned as such. They continued to pay homage to the reigning Emperor, till the last. But their homage was not more than a polite gesture. They could not help the homage, since the entire nation, Muslims and non-Muslims, recognised him alone as their legitimate sovereign.

While the above trends were eating into the vitals of the State, a new power appeared on the Indian horizon—the British. They had come to trade, but having come here, and settled, in what is now known as Madras and Calcutta, they witnessed the disintegration of the Indian polity and they resolved to fish in the troubled waters. They did this so enthusiastically that within a hundred years they became the lords of all they surveyed.

The inter-play of circumstances which completely shattered the country economically and politically, produced some of the most outstanding military geniuses like Nawab Sirajuddaulah, Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan who struggled hard to stem the tide of British domination, but in vain. Their indomitable courage would have welded the Mughal Empire into a strong and powerful State again but for the British use of superior diplomacy and the treacherous role of Mir Jaafar, Mir Sadiq, the Mahrattas and other local rulers. With the defeat of Sirajuddaulah at the battle of Plassey in 1757 and that of Tipu Sultan on May 4, 1799, at Seringapatam the last stronghold of national resistance came to an end, and the British supermacy was established for many decades.

Mention may also be made of the hird battle of Panipat in 1761 at which the Mahrattas were defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali. It no doubt, shattered the growing power of the Mahrattas, but its repercussions were the reverse of good for the Muslims. It showed that the Central Authority, located inside the Red Fort, was more illusory than people had deemed it to be. The

battle shattered the power of the Marathas, then India's greatest power, but it helped the British, the new emerging power on the side-lines, to come on top. The events of 1761 paved the way for 1857, the great war of Independence called the Mutiny.

During the 18th and 19th centuries we find the rise of some of the most outstanding patriots and leaders in the sub continent, Shah Waliullah (1703-1762), Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1823), Shah Ismail Shaheed (1781-1831), Syed Ahmad Brelvi (1786-1831) who raised the banner of freedom, all the way from Bengal to North-West Frontier Province from 1757 onwards and launched a powerful movement against the British and the Sikhs to shatter their hegemony. But at last in May, 1831, at Balakot (near Abbottabad) the Mujahideen (crusaders) sacrificed their all at the altar of freedom.

The torch of freedom was kept alive by the leaders of the Faraizi movement, Haji Shariatullah (d. 1840), Maulvi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur (d. 1873), Maulvi Wilayat Ali, Dudu Mian (1819-1860) and Titu Mir who waged a formidable campaign against the economic and political exploitation of the farmers and peasants by landlords and indigo planters. The British arrested many of the Mujahideen and sent still more to the Andamans for life imprisonment.

The British conquered Sind in 1843 and the Punjab in 1849. With their conquest of the Punjab, the British hegemony in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was complete. However, due to the help given to the British by some traitors, like the Sikh rulers and others, the national uprising was put down in the most brutal manner possible. Then broke out the first War of Independence (misnamed the Mutiny) on 10th May, 1857, against the fast-spreading power of the British on the Indo-Pakistan soil. It was not a mutiny of some soldiers only by any stretch of imagination. It was an uprising of almost the entire people of India, both Muslims and Hindus, against the alien usurpers, who were looting the country right and left.

It must be said to the credit of Mughal rule in India, that though the illegal impact of British power had reduced it to mere name alone, yet it claimed so much loyalty among the masses that when the Indian nation rose up in arms against the alien rule, they rallied under the banner of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal Emperor. The troops pledged obedience to him under General Mohammad Bakht Khan who brought money and disciplined forces with him. A deadly struggle ensued. Success was in sight but the national forces were cheated of victory by the rivalry of Muslim leadership, the treachery of the king's courtiers, the lack of coordination among the various forces fighting for India's independence in Bengal, Bihar, U.P. Oudh and Delhi and, last but not the least, the help which the Sikhs and Gurkhas

gave the British.

The 1857-58 war was a bitterly fought out and desperate struggle. Any side could have won. The British won. They killed most of the Mughal princes in cold blood and wreaked terrible vengeance on the people, especially the people of Delhi, murdering thousands, and driving out hundred of thousands from their homes. The Mughal Emperor was tried by the British Military Commission, convicted and deported as an exile along with Queen Zinat Mahal Begum to Rangoon where they died.

The failure of the War of Independence left the Muslims baffled and bewildered. The British on their part knew that the real protagonists of the war were Muslims, the Hindus were playing only a secondary role. So, the full force of their vengeance fell upon the Muslims alone.

They were killed wantonly or arrested, prosecuted, jailed and sent to the Andaman Islands for life imprisonment. Their properties were forefeited and given to loyal Hindus. They were suspected and deemed prospective rebels. All avenues of public service were barred to them. In fact, the Muslims were pushed to the verge of annihilation. Even the British realised that if the Muslims were completely wiped out, it would not be possible for them to follow the well-known policy of divide and rule. So after some time they took measures to create and foster a body of loyal Muslims.

On the other hand, some Muslim leaders had come to believe that the the British power had come to stay. That being the case, if the policy of extermination of Muslims had continued, they would all have been turned into hewers of wood and drawers of water for good. So some of the leaders began to plead with the Muslims to consider the policy of loyalty to the new rulers as more expedient. The belated recognition of the realities of the changed condition led the Muslims to make some new political moves. They started their own organisation, the All Indian Muslim League on December 30, 1906. It began by passing resolutions of loyalty to the British, seeking of representation in public bodies and public services.

The first half of the 19th century witnessed the appearance of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) on the Indian scene. He was a District Judge in British service, but after his retirement he took it upon himself to give a meaningful lead to the Muslims in the most difficult times which lay ahead of them. So did he write articles in the press and delivered speeches. All this he did for the furtherance of his programme. His greatest contribution was the setting up of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875. In this enterprise the British helped him. So did India's various ruling chiefs and philanthropists. Sir Syed Ahmad wanted Muslim youngmen to prove what he believed the compatibility of Islam with modern science, also to enable the Muslims to compete

with the Hindus who were already fifty years ahead of the Muslims in the acquisition of western knowledge, culture and civilization, and finally to get a share in the public services.

That the arrangement suited the British was obvious. They needed petty government functionaries in large numbers. They also wanted a class of dependents who would have a vested interest in British rule. The Hindu community had provided them both. They wanted the Muslims also to play the same role. Hence the willing patronage of the British to the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, and all that it stood for.

It may be added that meanwhile some important events were taking place all over the country. Around the fag end of the 19th century, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne (1888-1894) the Government of India had introduced in 1892 some sort of elective principle in certain bodies—indirect variety. Muslim representation in the central council and other bodies as a result of such election was someager—less than 12 per cent—that it alarmed the Muslims. Sir Syed Ahmad, as early as 1883, in one of his articles, had pointed that in the system of representation of election "the larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community."

The Provinces, which obtained in India, around 1947, were the creation of the British Government. Bengal had an area of 76,448 sq. miles, Assam 54,951 sq. miles, Orissa 32,198 sq. miles, Bihar 69,745 sq. miles. During the Mughal period, Bengal included most of Assam, Orissa and Bihar. Even around the opening of the 20th century, in the British period, Bengal covered an area bigger than 76,448 sq. miles.

As the 20th century opened, in 1905 the British partitioned the huge province One half consisting of Chittagong, Dacca, the Rajshahi division, the state hill of Tipperah and the Chief Commissionership of Assam, was called the Eastern Bengal and Assam. Doing that they were motivated by two considerations—providing better administration; and giving the Muslims a preponderating voice in the administration of the province. In the eastern wing of the partitioned province, the Muslims formed a major part of the population. That being the case, they would have got a chance to improve their economic, social and political condition. And they did, for a few years. But the Bengali Hindus would not tolerate that. They started a fierce agitation. Prominent leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo Ghosh came out strongly against the partition, and started a mass movement against the creation of the new Muslim Province. Surendranath Banerjee was the leading figure in this agitation. The day of the inauguration of the partition of Bengal was observed by the Hindus as a day of "National mourning."

A detailed programme was chalked out for the day: food would not be cooked except for the sick and the invalid; business would be suspended; people would walk barefoot and bathe in the Ganges early in the morning to purify themselves; an oath would be taken to make strenuous efforts for the reunion of Bengal. The most sacrosanct programme was *rakhi-bandhan*—the putting on of a red silken band round the wrists of a man by a woman as a mark of brother-sister relationship.

The agitation transcended the boundaries of Bengal and assumed an all-India character. About 2,000 meetings were held in different parts of the country. Tilak gave a lead to the Boycott Movement and the terrorists activities and wrote a number of forceful articles in the *Kesari*. The festival of the elephant-headed Hindu god, Ganapati, was used to bring new vigour to the Boycott Movement. The extremist leader Tilak made a whirlwind tour of India urging the people to have no faith in the British, to adopt unconstitutional means to revive the Hindu Raj, and finally, to regenerate the Hindus' economic and industrial position.

Aurobindo Ghose and Tahal Ram Gangaram, a Punjabi Arya Samajist stirred the religious feelings of the people during this movement. They made fiery speeches at College Square, Calcutta, advocating the boycott of British and foreign goods until partition was undone. They also sent missionaries to preach the cult of Swadeshi (locally manufactured goods) and succeeded tremendously. The priests declined to perform religious ceremonies with foreign articles. On the occasion of a religious festival in 1905, 50,000 people vowed before Kali, the goddess of destruction, to boycott all foreign articles cloth, rice, boots, soaps, hats, salt, cigarettes, bowls, sugar, glass bangles; and also not to employ foreigners for jobs.

The boycott, Swadeshi and terrorist movements cast a spell on the British Government and they ultimately succumbed to the pressure of these agitations. Therefore, at the Coronation Durbar in Delhi in 1911, King George V in his speech announced the annulment of the partition of Bengal. The Muslims had been told by the British that partition was to their advanttage; but now they were not even consulted.

As mentioned above, a year after the emergence of the Muslim majority province of East Bengal—on 1st October 1906—the top leaders of Muslim India arranged a deputation, went to Simla and waited upon Lord Minto, the then Viceroy of India and submitted to him a memorial, wherein they said that joint electorate was not in their best interest. They pressed their demand for separate electorate and reservation of seats. The Viceroy lent them a patient hearing and promised to give due weight to their

plea in future constitutional proposals. The very year, in late December they met at Dacca, the capital of newly-created province of East Bengal, and laid the foundation of a separate political organisation of their own—the Muslim League. Some of the demands, which the Muslims had submitted to the Viceroy at Simla in 1906, were incorporated in the Minto-Morley Reforms which the Government of India implemented in 1909.

The annulment of Bengal's partition in 1911, shocked the Muslims. A feeling developed amongst them that neither the British Government nor the Hindu-dominated congress could help them. They and they alone could help themselves. So quite a good few of them, who had till then been in the Congress, left it and trooped into the Muslim League. The evolution of the League from a drawing room body to a fairly vocal organisation, and then into a mass movement and later to a militant vanguard of the nation, is a remarkable transformation. It used to meet once a year, mostly in December, at some prominent town, assess the political situation prevalent in the country at the time and pass suitable resolutions—mostly recording their loyalty to the British Government, demanding the representation to the Muslims in the Central and Provincial legislatures and other bodies as well as in public services.

In March, 1913, the Muslim League resolved, at its Lucknow session that "its creed is the attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India". Here, it may be mentioned that the political objective of the Indian National Congress was the same. The Congress too, till 1913, opened its annual sessions with resolutions affirming loyalty to the British Government and later pleaded for representation in various elected bodies and for jobs and concluded with milk-and-soda resolutions demanding some sort of self-government.

In August, 1914, there was an explosion in Europe. Its repercussions reached as far as India. The war had started between Germany and Austria-Hungary (then one Empire) on one side, with Belgium, Britain, France and Russia on the other. Later in 1915, Italy too joined the Allies. It may be mentioned that Britain and Czarist Russia had been nibbling away at Turkey for long. Turkey, therefore naturally sided with Germany.

Not long before August, 1914, Turkey's dominions covered most of the Balkan Peninsula, as they did most of north Africa and the entire Arabian Peninsula, not to mention all Asia Minor. What was particularly significant for the millions of Indian Muslims, the Turkish sovereigns were deemed to be their Khalifatul Muslimeen or Caliph of the Muslims. British monarchs were their temporal king by compulsion. But Turkish Sultans were their spiritual monarchs, their Pope, by choice.

That being the case, declaration of war by Britain on Turkey caused keen stress on the loyalty of His Majesty's Indian Muslim subjects. During the British rule in India more than 70 per cent of the soldiers, recruited in the country, hailed from what now constitutes West Pakistan. Most of them were Muslim Punjabees and Pathans. The British opened various fronts against the Turks. For their attack on Gallipoli, Palestine and Syria, they opened their base at Cairo, in Egypt; for their attack on Mesopotamia their base was India, particularly Karachi. Indian troops were leaving Karachi for Basra and other places further up, in order to kill the Turks and rob them of their lands. A great battle was fought at Qattul Amara near Baghdad where the Turks had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Indo-British forces. At Gallipoli too, despite repeated and costly attempts, the British had failed to force the Dardanelles and were repulsed for good.

The Turks were a poor nation. The British were collecting troops from far off places, like New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and India and throwing them against the Turks on the various fronts they had opened against them. It was the Indian troops which, led by General Allenby, had conquered Jerusalem for Christendom, around 1916. By the Treaty of Sevres (1920) most of the Turkish dominions were lost to the Allies. All that remained of the Ottoman Empire was a small Turkish state confined mainly to the interior of Asia Minor and subjected to crushing debts and organised foreign control. But the leader of the Nationalist Party, Mustafa Kamal, repudiated the Treaty. The Greeks with the approval of the British Government sought to suppress the militant nationalism of Turkey. But they were badly beaten by Kamal Ataturk and driven out of Smyrna. Kamal's victory led to a revision of the Treaty of Sevres in favour of the Turks. By the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) which followed, Turkey resigned all claims to Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Hedjaz and the overlordship of Egypt. She retained Constantinople, Gallipoli, Adrianopole, Eastern Thrace as well as the whole of Anatolia, Armenia and Smyrna. She thus recovered a good deal of territory of which the Treaty of Sevres sought to deprive her. She consented to the freedom of the Straits and their demilitarization.

Thus the British-Turkish war of 1914-1918, had created considerable consternation amongst the Indian Muslims. They did not know what to do. As slaves of the British, they could not do much against them. Their sympathies were with the Turks. But they could not do much in their favour either. There were, however, a few brave and valiant souls who had done something. Maulana Mohammad Ali was editing an English Weekly, "The Comrade" at Calcutta, at the time. He wrote a most thoughtful and brilliant editorial in September 1914, captioned "The Choice of the

Turks", in his paper wherein he supported the Turks and criticised the British. He was arrested and kept in isolation at Chhindwara in Central Provinces "and-the Comrade" was closed.

These international events stirred up the Indian Muslims and introduced a certain amount of militancy in their League movement. These events also brought the Muslims and Hindus close together. When the Muslim League became a little bolder in its attitude towards the British, the Congressmen decided to make common cause with the former to arouse the Indian masses with the help of the Muslim rank and file.

Before 1913 Mohammad Ali Jinnah had little to do with the Muslim League. In 1906 he was with the Congress as Private Secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji. In 1913 he joined the Muslim League in London, but did not leave the Congress till 1920 when he resigned. It was on his initiative that negotiations started between the Congress and League leaders to hold the annual sessions of both the organisations in one city and about the same time, to help evolve a common front against the British. The first annual session of the Congress and the League, on the above understanding, were held at Bombay in 1915.

Again both the Congress and the League held their historic annual sessions at Lucknow in December 1916. This proved a high watermark of Hindu-Muslim amity. The two organisations here arrived at an understanding, known as Lucknow Pact, by which the Congress, for the first time in its history, agreed to the grant of the principle of separate electorate to the Muslims. They accepted also the reservation of seats for the minority community in the legislatures of such provinces, where either the Muslims or the Hindus happened to be in a minority. This was a good beginning towards Hindu-Muslim rapprochement.

Those were the days, when the British-Turkish war was at its height. As a result, Indian Muslims were in a mood to man the barricades. It may be added that the Congress, in the thirty years between 1886-1916, had covered a long distance. Still it had not become a mass movement. As a result of the war in the Middle East, the Indian Muslims were spoiling for a fight with the British on home grounds. They could not do much, because of the extra measures taken by the Government of India. The Congress leadership, had taken note of the feeling among Muslim masses and wanted to turn Muslims' resentment against the British, because of their hostility towards the Turks, into an anti-British mass movement in the subcontinent participated by both the Muslims and the Hindus. The move partly succeeded.

With the defeat of Germany the first World War ended at 11 a.m.

on the 11th day of the 11th month of the year 1918. Turkey had collapsed earlier. British warships had by then reached the Dardanelles opposite Constantinople. Sultan Abdul Majeed, the last Caliph of the Muslim world, had become a sort of politely treated prisoner of the British. Mustafa Kamal and the Anatolian Turks were trying to salvage at least a little of their patrimony. The Greeks, encouraged by Lloyd George, the then Prime Minister of Britain, had landed in Smyrna and advanced deep into Asia Minor.

There were various other moves by the victorious Western Powers to erase sovereign Turkey from the map of the world. The Turks were in doldrums. An idea took hold of their minds that if the entire Western world had for so long been ranged against them it was because their Sultan was Khalifatul Muslimeen (Caliph of the Muslims) and their country had functioned as leader of the Muslim world. If they were to shed both the attributes and retired to their own homelands in Asia Minor, the western world would reduce their hostility to them, if they would not end it altogether. So they unilaterally abolished the Caliphate on March 3, 1924, and started organising their armed forces, in the hinterland of Anatolia, to drive the Greeks out of Asia Minor, and frustrate the conspiracy of the Western powers, particularly of Lloyd George, to wipe them off the map. In the same year, Ibn-e-Saud occupied the Hejaz.

While the above events were unfolding themselves in Turkey the Muslims of the subcontinent were not sitting idle. They had organised the All India Khilafat Movement. Its objective was firstly to persuade the Turks to revive the Caliphate afresh, secondly, to force the British Government to withdraw their support from the Greeks and to keep their hands off Turkey, so that Turkey was not dismembered further, thirdly, to reawaken the Muslims of the subcontinent from their slumber for a mass movement against the imperialism of the British.

The Khilafat Movement caught the imagination of the Muslims. It took a flying start and began collecting more crowds than the Muslim League. Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali known as Ali Brothers—were heading the movement. The Indian National Congress, however, particularly M.K. Gandhi, had taken notice of the intensity of this movement.

Gandhi took the cause of the Khilafat as his own. So did many of his followers. They started sponsoring it in the various public speeches they were delivering. While Gandhi and various Congress leaders were carrying the message of the Khilafat all over the country, the Ali Brothers and such Muslims leaders as saw eye to eye with them started propagating the cause of India's freedom a little more militantly.

Here it may be mentioned that the Congress case was simple enough. It told the British to leave the country and entrust the Government to its people. The League's case was not as simple as that. It equally told the British: "Leave the country all right. But before you do that, devise some constitutional formula which may bar the majority community's juggernaut from bulldozing the separate entity, political privileges and socio-economic interests of the minority". After 1940, the Congress case was symbolised in two words:" Quit India", while that of the Muslim League in three: "Divide and Quit".

The brief amity and fraternity though, as long as it lasted, had rendered a good and lasting service both to the League and the Congress. Till October 29, 1914, when the War had started, both the Muslim League and the National Congress, were organisations of loyalists. It was the Khilafat Movement which infused new life and spirit in both the League and the Congress. After the Khilafat Movement both the Muslim League and the Congress stopped initiating their annual sessions with resolutions of loyalty to the British Government and adopted a militant attitude. The loss of Turkey and the rest of Muslim world by the abolition of the Caliphate became a gain for the subcontinent. After the morrow of the World War, the British took a tolerant view of the agitations against them. They began to realise that colonialism had ceased to be practicable. It was becoming more and more difficult, to rule a hostile people. Therefore, the London Government decided to introduce administrative reforms in the country.

Meanwhile Lord Chelmsford became the Viceroy of India in 1916. He began to work on the reforms with the new Secretary of State, Edward Montagu which resulted in the introduction of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. This was the first step in this direction. The Reforms were, no doubt pioneering attempts on the part of the British Government to grant self-government to India. For the first time it was said in so many words that the goal of British policy in India was nothing but the grant of self-government to the people of India. Though its realisation was to be in instalments and rested on the judgement of the British Government, as to how and when it was to be given. The Reforms satisfied neither the Congress nor the League. Rather their hopes were completely dashed to the ground as the Reforms did not lead to their ideals of self-government.

On the other hand, the reforms unleashed the force of communal hatred. Once it was learnt from some source that the British had resigned themselves to leave the country, the various rival political parties stepped up their activities, both constitutional and otherwise, and started struggle for power. A number of other newly formed parties too came into the field.

Surprisingly enough, the attitude of a large section of the Hindus also stiffened. The seamy side of their split personalities began to be exposed. They initiated Shuddhi and Sangathan movement (forcible conversion to Hinduism, and militant organisation of Hindus to fight opposition, literally fascism). Scores of communal riots blurred the peaceful Indian landscape; 11 major ones in 1923, 16 in 1924, 16 in 1925, 35 in 1926. The notorious party, the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh, was also founded during this period somewhere in 1925.

Sensible and reasonable people were still there, both in the Congress and the League. So were they outside their ranks. They desired to bring about a national deal between the Muslims and the Hindus—the two leading communities of India. But it failed to come off.

In 1927-1928 the British Government appointed a Commission to recommend measures for the realization of self-government to India, and named it after Sir John Simon, its Chairman. No Indian was included in the Commission. Therefore, it was mostly boycotted by all the parties. Nobody paid any heed to its Report. Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India went to England and urged the British Government to hold a Round Table Conference in London.

Fast moving and memorable events marked this third decade, 1920-30 in the history of the subcontinent. The diarchy envisaged by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, had been poorly received by the Indian people. The Congress boycotted first general election under these Reforms. The elections were, however, held. Such Congressmen as did not see eye to eye with M. K. Gandhi and his Non-Cooperation movement, participated in the elections. They captured about one-third of the general (non-Muslim) seats in various Provincial Assemblies.

It may be mentioned that the democratic processes, as visualized in the Montagu Reforms, did not cover the Central Government. The understanding was that from amongst the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, half would be Indians. But according to the Reforms the Executive Council of the Viceroy and the Governors were to have two or three Indian members only. They were not given much power, though.

In the Provinces subjects were divided between "reserved" and "transferred". Reserved subjects like Law and Order (Police), Finance, Judiciary and General Administration were to remain directly under the control of the Governors. The transferred subjects like Education, Local Self-Government, Medical Service, Excise and Agriculture were to be dealt with by the Ministers. This meant that policy matters would be retained by the British both at the Centre and in the Provinces.

Gandhi started the first Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-22). He promised Swaraj in one year to people. He and his companions Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Vallabhai Patel, asked the people to resign from Government service, leave schools and colleges, not to send cases to the law courts and boycott the British goods. The Prince of Wales visited India at the time and his visit was the occasion of wide spread demonstrations.

Muslims and Hindus had drifted apart. The fraternisation cemented by the Khilafat Movement, gave place to the communal riots of 1923-1926. Quite a good many Muslims had migrated to Afghanistan in protest against the alien Government's high-handedness. The Hjirat (migration) movement was symbolic of the mood of the people.

Lord Reading (1921-26) was Viceroy of India at the time. A Jew and one of the shrewdest Viceroys, who ever came to India, he watched the situation carefully and bided his time. He viewed with relief that the ranks of even the official Congress party were divided. Gandhites went along with non-cooperation. But leaders like Pandit Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das and M.R. Jayakar dissented. They formed their Swaraj Party. They were for participation in the elections, capturing the Provincial Assemblies and fighting for the liberation of India from within. They nearly succeeded in Bengal and Bombay. By the end of 1922 the non-violent Non-cooperation Movement led by M. K. Gandhi had spent its force. It had reached the verge of collapse. Lord Reading was awaiting such an opportunity. He struck. He got Gandhi and his colleagues arrested. When Gandhi, after a year or so, got released from the Aga Khan's palace at Poona, where he was detained, he found himself at the end of his tether. He retired from active politics.

Lord Reading retired in 1926 and was succeeded by Lord Irwin (1926-1931), a different personality, tall, simple and kind. The Report of the Simon Commission was out by then. Partly authorised by Mr. Clement Attlee, who later became labour Prime Minister of Britain, it had outlived its utility.

It was 1927 by then. The Congress held its annual session at Madras in December. There it passed a resolution, declaring that the goal of the Congress was complete Independence. The Executive of the Congress organised an All Parties Conference in 1928. Getting a mandate from the latter, they produced their own scheme of self-government and called it Nehru Report. Its principal authors were Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Its recommendations betrayed all the features of a brute majority. It left the Muslims cold. In Britain, the Labour party defeated the Conservative Party. Ramsay MacDonald succeeded Baldwin as Prime Minister. This change in

London, gave a larger leverage to Lord Irwin to bridge the gulf between the thinking of the British Government and that of the Congress, and no less the Muslim League.

As mentioned above, M.K. Gandhi had announced his retirement from politics in 1926. After being in purgatory for three years, the astute Hindu Leader returned to the political stage afresh in 1929. These were the days when the subcontinent was in a ferment. The brilliantly drafted report of the Simon commission was in the field. So was the Nehru Report. From amongst the Congressites or Leaguers few took notice of the Simon Report Not so the Nehru Report. Congress leaders called an All Parties Convention at Calcutta in December 1928, to assess the Nehru Report. They were adamant to get this Report passed by the entire nation. They had nationalist Muslims with them in their delegation. They lobbied long to see that the Report is passed without dissent. But Jinnah made it a point to attend the Convention. He moved amendments one after the other to forge a bit of viable equation between the two leading communities of the subcontinent and incidentally safeguard the interests of the Muslims. But that was not to be. The Hindu packed Convention rejected all his amendments. Its negative results presaged the lengthening shadows of Hindu-Muslim cleavage.

As a corollary to the Simon Report, a Round Table Conference was called at London in 1930. Most of the Indian leaders attended it, including Maulana Mohammad Ali and M.A. Jinnah. Some of the Congress minded leaders also attended the Conference, but not M.K. Gandhi. The conference failed to unravel the communal tangle, or otherwise do much.

One good point emerged out of the first Round Table Conference. The British Government agreed to offer Dominion Status to India, after certain formalities were gone through. But some of the leaders wanted Dominion Status right away. So, the Conference was adjourned *sine die.* The Indian delegates returned empty-handed. At this stage Gandhi started his second civil disobedience movement, Salt Satyagraha, on the issue of boycott of salt tax in March, 1930. He ordered his supporters to manufacture their own salt and pay no taxes thereon. It was not only a revolutionary movement but an active one to boot, as distinguished from Gandhi's Civil Disobedience movement of 1921, which too was equally revolutionary but passive. Lord Irwin had Gandhi and the entire working committee of the Congress detained. They remained in duress for a year. Meanwhile Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the Labour Party, became Prime Minister in January, 1931. He agreed to grant responsible government to India. The change of Government from Conservative to Labour Party, eased the political tension in India. As a result Lord Irwin got a little leverage and released Gandhi and the rest of the

Congress leaders.

Then something novel occurred on India's political stage. Lord Irwin called Gandhi to the Viceregal Lodge on 15th March, 1931 and had talks with him, which resulted in some sort of a political truce, known as the Gandhi-Irwin Truce. In 1931, Lord Irwin returned home and was succeeded by Lord Willingdon (1931-1936) as the Viceroy of India. This year witnessed the holding of the second Round Table Conference in London, inaugurated by Ramsay MacDonald. Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, M. K.Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu also attended this Conference, but this too ended in a fiasco. No understanding, either between the Hindus and Muslims on the one side, or the Congress and the British Government on the other, was reached. All the Indian leaders, including Gandhi, returned home. Within weeks of his return from England, Gandhi started his civil disobedience movement and was arrested on May 5, along with his senior lieutenants. He began his fast unto death in Yervada Jail so that the Communal Award should be modified according to his ideas. It proved to be damp squib. Still the movement had released a lot of disturbing forces all over the country, like the agitation of the Red Shirts in the North-West Frontier Province, Terrorism in Bengal, No Rent Campaign in U.P. The number of political prisoners in the country, too, rose to around 35,000 in 1932.

The third Round Table Conference was called in mid-1932. The Congress and the League had failed to arrive at any understanding on the subject of communal representation. At this stage Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the scheduled caste also asked for separate representation. That being the case, the job of giving an award fell upon the shoulders of the British Prime Minister. He , therefore, announced the Communal Award in August 1932. It was on that promise that the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed.

While the above mentioned duels and deals were going on between the Congress on one side, and the British Government on the other, the Muslims were not sitting idle. They were bitter because of the Nehru Report and the frequent communal riots which were taking place all over the country.

Jinnah was an anti-imperialist to the core who wanted freedom for all the people of the subcontinent from foreign domination, irrespective of caste, creed and colour. But having failed to bridge the gulf of misunderstanding between the two major communities he evolved his own famous formula, known as the Fourteen Points. These were drafted in reply to the Nehru Report in March, 1929, and strengthened the political position of the Muslims. It envisaged:

(1) A federal form of government with the residuary powers vested in the

provinces.

(2) A uniform measure of autonomy for all the provinces.

(3) All legislatures in the country to provide adequate representation to the minorities, without disturbing the majority in any province.

(4) Muslim representation in the Central Legislature should not be less than one-third.

(5) Separate electorates should continue. It shall be open to any community to forego separate electorate for joint electorate, wherever it so liked.

(6) In case, there was any territorial redistribution, it should not be in such a way as to disturb the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N.W. F. Province.

(7) Full religious liberty should be guaranteed to all communities.

(8) No bill or resolution should be passed in any legislature, if three-fourths of the members of any community are opposed to it.

(9) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a Province.

(10) Reforms should be introduced in the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan, on the same lines as in other Provinces.

(11) Adequate share in the State and other services should be given to the Muslims, with due regard to the requirement of efficiency.

(12) The Constitution should protect the culture, education, language, religion, personal laws and charitable institutions of the Muslims by means of grants-in-aid and other ways.

(13) All Cabinets, whether central or provincial, should have at least one third Muslim ministers.

(14) Central legislature should make no change in the Costitution, unless with the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian Federation.

Here it might be repeated that Ramsay MacDonald had given his Award on the Communal question in August, 1932. Before he did that Maulana Mohammad Ali had written a letter to him. This letter happened to be his last letter to the British Prime Minister. Therein he had said that the real problem before us is to give full power to Muslims in such provinces in which they are in a majority, whether large or small, and protection to them in such provinces in which they are in a minority, and in order to be absolutely fair to the Hindu community also, precisely the same thing must be done for the Hindus.

What influence, if at all, Maulana's letter had cast on the Prime Minister is more than can be expressed. But it is clear from this letter that Maulana Mohammad Ali regarded the Muslims as a nation and the body-politic of India as a conglomeration of nationalities.

The same idea has been beautifully expressed by an eminent historian, K.M. Pannikar, in his book "A Survey of Indian History":

"The main social result of the introduction of Islam as a religion into India was the division of society on a vertical basis. Before the thirteenth century, Hindu society was divided horizontally, and neither Buddhism nor Jainism affected this division. They were not unassimilable elements and fitted in easily with the existing divisions. Islam, on the other hand, split Indian society into two sections from top to bottom, and what has now come to be known in the phraseology of today as two separate nations, came into being from the beginning. It was two parallel societies vertically established on the same soil. At all stages they were different and hardly any social communication or intermingling of life existed between them. There was, of course, a continuous process of conversion from Hinduism to Islam, but also a continuous strengthening of the Hindu social body, both by the rise of new doctrines and sects as well as by the defensive feeling of security."

As ill-luck would have it, Muslim leadership at the time was divided. Many were under the influence of the Congress, like Dr. M.A. Ansari, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu, Maulana Kifayatullah and Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, and wanted the Muslims to trail behind the Congress. Still others like Sir Fazle Hussain, Sir Mohammad Shafi, Nawab Chhatari, Sir Mohammad Yaqub looked to the British for their lead.

Jinnah could not do much to bring round either of the two schools of thought to the position of full-fledged Muslim nationalism. He, therefore, retired from Indian politics and settled down to practise law before the Privy Council of England from 1930 to 1934, and was considered most successful.

As mentioned above, the first half of the third decade of the twentieth century was a very unhappy period in the history of the Muslims of India. Maulana Mohammad Ali died in London on January 4, 1931 and was buried in Jerusalem. M.A. Jinnah, disgusted with the selfishness, low character and intrigue of Muslim leadership, had left the country and gone to England. The All-India Muslim League had become a ship without a captain to pilot it in the stormy seas of Indian politics. After the death of the towering personality of Maulana Mohammad Ali a great vaccum was caused in the political life of Muslim India. The Maulana pinned great hopes on Jinnah for leading the Muslims to their cherished goal and successfully foiling the combined manoeuvres of Hindu leaders to subjugate the Muslims.

Allama Iqbal, the poet of the East, also commended Jinnah's leadership to the Muslims. In a letter to the Quaid-i-Azam, he said, "You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North West India, and perhaps

to the whole of India."

Quite a few other Muslim Leaders were of the same view that Jinnah and Jinnah alone could lead the Muslims during those hectic days. Many Muslim leaders, visiting London, had called upon him and requested him to leave his practice, return to India and lead the Muslims. It so happened that Liaquat Ali Khan, about that time, visited London for his honeymoon. He, alongwith Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali, called on him and repeated the request. Fortunately, Jinnah agreed to his request and did return in 1934. He gave up his lucrative legal practice and dedicated his entire life to the service of the nation with selfless devotion*.

The Government of India Act, which had granted autonomy to the provinces, had become Law in 1935. Its salient features were:

(1) The Government of India would be of a federal type. At the Centre would be two legislative houses. They would consist of representatives of the provinces as well as the states.

(2) The ministers who formed the Viceroy's Executive Council would be responsible to the Central Legislative Assembly.

(3) Foreign Affairs and Defence would, however, remain in the hands of the Viceroy.

(4) There would be eleven provinces, as Sind was to be separated from Bombay, and Orissa was to be made a separate province.

(5) The provinces would have autonomy; that is, they would have full responsibility for the government, except that the Governors would have residuary powers in case law and order broke down.

(6) Full Dominion Status was to be given to India in the near future.

Elections to the Central Assembly as well as to the various Provincial Assemblies were held in the winter of 1936-37. By that time, Lord Willingdon's term had expired. He was succeeded by Lord Linlithgow (1936-1943), who arranged the new country-wide elections and launched the new constitution in 1937. He was painstaking, sincere and accommodating.

The Congress decided to contest the new elections but refused to co-operate with the Muslim League. They won a majority in seven out of eleven provinces, but refused to form coalition governments with the League. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at this stage declared that there were only two parties in

*Jinnah's monthly income was Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 45,000. This was told to the author by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Bhulabhai Desai.

India—one the British Government and the other the Congress. To this Mohammad Ali Jinnah replied that there was a third party, too—the Muslim League. The Muslim-dominated Governments were formed in the N.W.F. Province, the Punjab, Sind, Bengal and Assam. Communal riots were conspicuous by their absence in these provinces. On the other hand, in the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras, communal riots were more a rule than an exception in these Provinces. During 29 months of Congress rule they aroused extreme anti-Muslim passions, and the Congress Government unleashed violent communal riots everywhere. Imposition of Hindi and the use of the song, Bande Matram on official occasions, were only two of the irritants that further spoiled Hindu-Muslim relations. There were many more serious injustices. Between 1937 and September 1939, 85 major communal riots occurred. There was a major upheaval in Europe, as the Second World War had started in September, 1939. The various Congress Governments resigned towards the end of 1939. When the Congress Governments resigned, the Muslims observed a "Day of Deliverance".

In order to win over the Indian people Lord Linlithgow made an offer in August, 1940, which was known as the August Offer. He promised full Dominion Status to India after the War on the condition that all Indians agreed in their political demands. He also promised that if the people of the subcontinent agreed to this offer, they themselves would be asked to frame their constitution. The Congress did not agree to this offer and launched a civil disobedience movement, which was crushed by the Government.

The Muslims could not approve of the British and Hindu stand. So they rallied under the banner of the Muslim League and under Jinnah's leadership put forward the demand for a separate homeland. The League held its session at Lahore on March 23, 1940, and passed the Pakistan Resolution which envisaged the partition of India into two sovereign states, Pakistan and Hindustan.

In 1942, the British Government sent a Mission to India under Sir Stafford Cripps to unravel the political problems of the subcontinent. He suggested a Union of India with Dominion Status, a new Constitution framed by the people of India, the states to join as equal partners with other provinces, and the liberty to any province or state to join the Union or not, as they liked. This offer was not acceptable to any party, and the Mission proved a complete failure. The "Quit India" resolution was passed by the Congress at the initiative of M.K. Gandhi and this led to violent disturbances in the country. Jinnah asked the Muslims to stand aloof because he was able to see that the Congress was only trying to force the hands of the British to yield

power to the Hindus without any regard to Muslim demands. The movement was intended to paralyse the British and American War efforts against the Japanese and thus to bring the British to their knees.

During this time the Japanese intensified their War activities in Burma and came dangerously near India. Therefore, the Government of India arrested and imprisoned all the Congress leaders and took severe measures to crush the violent civil disobedience. Only a year after this, famine broke out in Bengal in 1943 and lakhs of people died. This created great consternation in the country.

When Lord Wavell (1943-1947) became Viceroy of India after the retirement of Lord Linlithgow he took a keen interest to solve the country's problem as a statesman and soldier. After the conclusion of the War, he invited the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League to the Simla Conference in June, 1945 with the purpose of forming a Government with almost full powers and the Viceroy as the constitutional head. The Congress rejected this move as they wanted all the power to be in their hands. The Muslims saw more clearly still the Congress leaders were motivated by the idea of establishing an absolute Hindu Raj. This effort of the Viceroy also ended in failure.

The British Government, therefore, thought of another plan. They sent a mission under Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, with Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander as members of the Mission in 1946. After holding discussions with all the political leaders including Gandhi, Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar they failed to find a workable solution for the country. The Cabinet Mission, therefore, made the following recommendations:

(1) There should be an Indian Union consisting of provinces and states.
(2) Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Communications should be administered by a Union Centre.
(3) The provinces and states should be organised into three Groups—A,B, and C. The Punjab, Sind and N.W.F.P. would make one Group; Bengal and Assam would make another, and the rest of India the third.

Gandhi was the first to react against these Groupings as he thought the Sikhs would be reduced to a minority in one Group (the Punjab, Sind and N.W.F.P.). The Muslim League under Quaid-i-Azam accepted this proposal provided the Groups were permitted to vote as single units in the Centre. The Hindus wanted each province to have the right to decide whether it wanted to join a Group or not. As the major political parties did not accept the Cabinet Mission's Plan, it also ended in a fiasco.

On October 1, 1946, another effort was made to form an Interim Govern-

ment headed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, with three members of the Muslim League and Liaquat Ali Khan as leader of the Muslim Party. This step was taken to ease the political situation. When the elections were held in 1946, the Muslim League won an absolute majority by 502 Muslim seats out of 560 in the entire subcontinent and decided the question once for all in favour of Pakistan.

Early in 1947 Lord Mountbatten took over as Viceroy of India from Lord Wavell. He continued his ceaseless efforts to hand over power to the people of India. After his discussion with the Congress and League leaders, he was fully convinced about the division of the country into two sovereign States. He, therefore, announced his Plan on June 3, 1947. This Plan was discussed on June 2 with Congress and Muslim League leaders including Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, Acharya Kriplani, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Abdur Rab Nishtar and Baldev Singh and was accepted by them.

Thus, on August 14, 1947, Pakistan appeared on the map of the world as the fifth largest State in the world, with Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as its first Governor-General.

He was the hardest worked man. He did not find any respite during his ten years of crusade with two powerful adversaries, the British and the Hindus. He passionate devotion to his ideals, his singleness of purpose, unimpeachable integrity, indomitable courage, lively and realistic perception of the day-to-day tactics and strategy of achieving his aims, his unbending and steel-like firmness against opponents, and his warm affection, genial courtesy and large-heartedness towards his lieutenants—all these distinguished him as a phenomenal statesman of vision and determination and an outstanding leader of the contemporary age.

SOME ASPECTS OF QUAID-I-AZAM'S LEADERSHIP

OF the great personages of history there have been some who created their own pattern and tradition of leadership which reflected their special genius. To this class belonged Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He did not have greatness thrust upon him; he achieved greatness through the cultivation of his talents and faculties and the building up of a character that emerged unscathed from all vicissitudes like burnished gold out of fire.

The Quaid-i-Azam started his public career as a parliamentarian which was the first step towards popular and national leadership. In many a parliamentary battle he was the hero of the day. From 1910 onwards, when he was first elected unopposed as the representative of the Muslims of Bombay to the Imperial Legislative Council, he crossed swords with many a powerful debater and invariably came out with flying colours. His parliamentary speeches showed masterly grasp of the subject under discussion and incisive reasoning whose appeal was irresistible. In the legislature he shone as the epitome of parliamentary decorum, the grand manner, the elegant style. He combined all the qualities of outward deportment and bearing with those of intellect and character. For parliamentary leadership he seemed to have been cut out from the beginning. Quick perception of legal quibbles and legislative intricacies was in his blood. Deep understanding of broad political issues and the moves on the political chess-board was equally within his ken.

For some years the Quaid-i-Azam was, by and large, a leader of the intelligentsia. There seemed to be a certain aloofness about him. But it was only due to scorn of cheap popularity. He never allowed himself to become that type of leader who swims with the current of popular fancies

and passions on the chance of finding himself on the crest of it. He had a scale of values; he believed in the sanctity of right methods to achieve righteous ends; he stood for principles and convictions which he never compromised or jettisoned, whatever the temptation, pressure or risk. He was not expansive by nature and had no weakness for publicity. Entirely consumed by the passion for work and service, he kept his emotional life strictly in check and cared little for public display of his qualities and accomplishments. He was not fussy or demonstrative and had no use for the tantrums and exhibitionism frequently indulged in by seekers of popularity. Some people mistook his detachment for coldness. This again was due to his detestation of the methods employed by many politicians to carve out a career for themselves by trading on the ignorance of the people and exciting popular passions.

A most dangerous situation was created for the Muslims in 1937 by the coming into office of Congress Ministries in the Hindu majority Provinces which were hostile to Muslims in spirit and action. A man of courage, vision and sagacity was needed to steer the Muslims through the thorny path. They were between two fires — the British bureaucracy and the new oligarchy of the Congress. A campaign of persecution, demoralisation and cultural and economic repression was launched against the Muslims. Those who had till then been posing as their leaders had stifled in them the spirit of self-help and self-assertion. The Muslims had been reduced to a state of political sycophancy. In this state of despondency and frustration they looked round for a man who would pull them out of the ruts and launch them on a new path of hope and action, and they found him in Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

It was, indeed, the intensity of his passionate concern for the misery and degradation of his people which led him, towards the evening of his life, when others seek comfort and repose, to throw down the gauntlet to two powerful adversaries — British imperialism and Congress chauvinism — in order to release his people from their stranglehold. It was no small thing that he changed a life-time's ways and habits to come to the help of his people in their hour of dire need. All his inherent qualities of character and intellect were brought into full play. His most ardent admirers were astonished by the ability, confidence and strength with which he assumed the leadership of a people who had been rather notorious for pushing up and pulling down leaders at short intervals. His political acumen, his vision and will, his capacity for drive and organisation, his ability to handle delicate and grave situations were put to the severest test, and his phenomenal success dazzled the eyes of friend and foe alike.

So far as the magnificence of demonstrations, the display of popular

enthusiasm, the expression of the people's support and attachment are concerned, it is undeniable that the Quaid-i-Azam surpassed the record of all political leaders in India. A man of lesser calibre and smaller mind might have been swept off his feet by all this show of admiration. But the Quaid stood on a higher level. To the despair of his opponents and to the delight of his admirers, his following and popularity among his people went on increasing every day.

A distinctive feature of the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership was that he achieved the maximum result with the minimum effort. Like economy of words in speech he practised economy of efforts in practical politics. It is not that he avoided action; rather he believed in conserving one's energy and strength for bigger causes and issues. He did not want his followers to fritter away their energies in fruitless wrangles over narrow, parochial and momentary issues. He put his whole heart and soul into one vital, fundamental issue of emancipating the Muslims from the double yoke of British imperialism and Hindu domination and concretising their urge for freedom in the shape of a separate, sovereign state. He would not let himself be deflected nor allow his followers to be deflected by a bewildering multiplicity of religious, cultural, social, economic and other issues. Step by step, slowly and steadily he took his followers forward to their cherished goal. He believed in full and thorough preparation before an action was taken. As he himself said, "Think a hundred times before you take any decision but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man". Once he was convinced that the bulk of the people, not necessarily all, were consciously behind a policy and were fully prepared and equipped, there was no danger and no power which he was not ready to face along with his followers. Therein lay the secret of his success as a mass leader.

There was a practical quality in his leadership. Unlike most of the other leaders in pre-Independence India who believed merely in arousing emotions, exciting passions and speaking the language of bravado, the Quaid-i-Azam, was always careful to impress on his followers the need of organised effort to build up national life in its various aspects, not only political but also social, educational and economical. He kept urging them to prepare and equip themselves systematically in order to win their due place against competing forces. A few instances may be cited. It was under his inspiration, encouragement and guidance that the Muslims in pre-Independence India founded a number of institutions designed to improve their position—for example, the Muslim Commercial Bank, the Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Orient Airways, the Orient Press Agency. He himself founded a first-rate English newspaper, the "Dawn", which played

a notable part in the Muslim freedom struggle. He was so keen on the spread of education that when he received an invitation to visit a town he accepted it only on condition that the Muslims of the place collected a certain amount of money to establish an educational institution. He used to urge young men not to confine themselves to the usual rut of clerical jobs but turn their attention to commerce, banking and insurance.

The Quaid-i-Azam never adopted a pose nor did he sail under false colours. He did not set himself up as a saint or a divine, preaching to the ordinary mortals from a pedestal. It was not his way to weave a hocus-pocus of spiritual inanities. He did not seek to foist his own fancies and fits on his followers with dogmatic authority. He rather felt the pulse of the people, and the stirrings of their hearts. He delved into the inmost depths of their hearts and then voiced what was in their minds, boldly and fearlessly. The Quaid-i-Azam did not allow his followers to become blind worshippers or imitators. He made them think for themselves. Along the rugged path of national struggle he walked with his people, cheering them up in moments of despondency, putting heart and courage in adversity and holding up the torch to them to illumine their path in moments of gloom. He was a people's man sharing their joys and sorrows and relying entirely on their voluntary support. He held the view that it was easy to die for a cause but it required massive and constant courage to live for it. That is why he said, "Every Musalman that I meet, I ask for some sacrifice, some hard work".

A democrat to his finger-tips, he always followed entirely democratic methods and conducted his movement on democratic lines, towards democratic ends. The charge that he was dictatorial in temper or method is singularly inept. If his lead or advice was invariably accepted by his people it was simply because it always carried conviction by virtue of its eminent sensibility and force of logic. The Quaid-i-Azam resolutely turned down a proposal made by a Muslim League leader from U.P. (Nawab Syed Mohammad Ismail) at a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council that the Quaid-i-Azam be elected Life-President of the League. In disapproving the proposal he remarked that according to democratic practice he must come to the members of the Council every year to seek a renewal of their confidence on the basis of his work and service. That certainly does not reflect a dictatorial temper.

There is another episode connected with his dealings with the last British Viceroy during the final negotiations for the transfer of power, which shows his strong preference for democratic methods. Lord Mountbatten tried to hustle him to make a commitment regarding the Partition Plan of June 3, 1947, over the head of the Muslim League Council. The "brilliant,

supremely self-confident" Lord threatened him by saying, "Chaos will follow and you will lose your Pakistan for good". The Quaid-i-Azam with a shrug of his shoulders merely said in reply, "What must be, must be." He followed the correct constitutional and democratic course by refusing to make any commitment in writing until the All-India Muslim League Council had met and accepted the Plan.

When he was convinced that his people had come round to a particular viewpoint the Quaid-i-Azam did not hesitate to declare it openly to the world. This can be briefly illustrated. The working of the democratic parliamentary system of government on Western lines in Congress-governed provinces had given a rude shock to the Muslims, and opened their eyes to the futility of seeking protection of their rights and interests as a minority under this system. Quickly perceiving the direction in which the Muslim mind was working, the Quaid-i-Azam came out with the courageous declaration that unqualified Western parliamentary democracy was unsuited to a multi-national and heterogeneous country like India. It was a bitter pill for the Hindu majority to swallow, for it dashed to the ground all their hopes of establishing their domination over all others in India. Again keeping his hand on the pulse of his people, he boldly asserted that the Muslims of India were separate and distinct nation by themselves, and that any future constitution for India must recognise the fact that there were two major nations in the country. His people having arrived at this stage of psychological developments at which they readily regained their national and cultural self-consciousness, the next stage of the perception and clarification of their national goal as easily and speedily reached. He again searched the minds of his people and found that they were now prepared to stand up with the claim for sovereign political power to shape their own life unhampered and unrestricted. He, therefore, brought out the proposal for the establishment of an independent sovereign state in the regions of Muslim majority, which represented the universal faith and the cherished ideal of a hundred million Musalmans of the sub-continent.

It was natural that, from the time he began to organise the Muslims for the protection of their rights, the Quaid-i-Azam was a "*persona non grata*" with the Congress, although his own contribution to the building up of the Congress organisation in the pre-Gandhian era was not less than that of any other front-rank leader. He was painted as the villain of the piece, as the stumbling block in the way of India's freedom. He was the target of calumny, vituperation and vicious attacks. But he stood firm as a rock against all onslaughts. The fiercer the opposition, the firmer was his determination to achieve freedom for his people. Neither flattery nor lauda-

tion could deflect him from his course nor threat and calumny unnerve him. No price could purchase him and no temptation lead him astray. More than once the Congress leaders offered him the Prime Ministership of undivided India to wean him away from the demand for Pakistan, but he did not fall into their trap. He remained unaffected by all the bitterness the Congress had created all round and moved with this characteristic dignity and magnanimity right till the end. But he could never be taken in by the designs of the opponents of Muslim freedom.

If the Quaid-i-Azam was a strict disciplinarian he was first of all strict with himself. He kept perfect control over his sentiments and likes and dislikes. But he could always subordinate his feelings and predilections to a higher cause and a nobler principle. He even worked with some persons of doubtful loyalty and character in the larger interest of the nation. The world did not know what wounds he suffered in private. He was too self-respecting to make them known. He readily forgave those who hurt him personally but he never hesitated to take action against those who betrayed the national interest, irrespective of their status and influence.

Sometimes it was alleged that the Quaid-i-Azam was proud, arrogant and stiff-necked. But the critics missed the point as to what was the basis of his supposed pride and arrogance. He was a proud man only in the sense that he, being the spokesman and mouthpiece of Muslim India, did not allow its prestige and status to be lowered in any circumstances. He was proud against the proud and the haughty. Power had evidently gone to the heads of the Congress leaders on their coming into power in the Provinces. At one stage Mr. Nehru had gone to the extent of boasting that there were only two parties in the country—the Congress and the British Government—and others must line up. A couple of years later the world saw the same Mr. Nehru as well as Mr. Gandhi and other Congress high-ups knocking at the door of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. That was the secret of his pride. It restored the mental balance of the opponents of Muslim solidarity and freedom.

As a leader of the people the Quaid-i-Azam showed keen perception of the mass mind and impulse as well as shrewd insight into political moves and diplomatic manoeuvres. Somehow he always knew, as if by intuition, the psychological moments in the political life of the country. His patience was inexhaustible and he could wait for the right moment. But when the time came, he struck and struck hard with unerring precision. Two instances may be cited. An occasion when he showed the ability to make a strategic move and a supreme courage to uphold the policy and discipline of his organisation in the face of imminent peril was the British Government's

announcement regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the formation of a so-called National Defence Council. A well-planned move was made to wean away some prominent members of the Muslim League over the head of its leader and executive and include them in the said bodies against the policy of the League. The Quaid-i-Azam took courage in both hands and saved the prestige and solidarity of Muslim India by bringing round the erring members including three Provincial Premiers to retrace their steps and obey the mandate of their organisation. The gravity of the step he took and the immensity of his achievement can only be gauged when one considers the position and influence of the individual members in question and the might of the party which had made the attempt to disrupt the Muslim League organisation.

The Quaid-i-Azam's greatest strategic triumph was his adroit handling of the grave situation which arose out of the British Government's action in bypassing the Muslim League and installing the Hindu Congress in power at the Centre in 1946. This was contrary to all the solemn pledges and assurances given to Muslim India in successive announcements of British constitutional policy since 1940. The situation was pregnant with the darkest portents. The thoughtless action of the British Government and Congress desire for monopoly of power were leading the country to the brink of a precipice. But they soon realised that it would not be possible to carry on even a provisional government without the participation of the Muslim League. Both of them had to reopen negotiations with the Quaid-i-Azam. It will be recalled that acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan for constitution-making was the indispensable condition for the participation of every party in the Interim Government. But the Congress had been included in the Government, even though it had not accepted the Plan as clarified by the Mission itself. The Quaid-i-Azam succeeded in getting the Muslim League into the Interim Government in his own right without in any way recognising the Congress Leadership of the Government and without any commitment to join the Constituent Assembly in the way the Congress wanted it to join. Thus a tragic situation was averted and the way was paved for the establishment of Pakistan within less than a year.

It is said that character is destiny. It transcends circumstances. If this could truly be said of any leader, it was Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He refused to be the plaything of circumstances of political expediency. Like the mastermind that he was, he overrode events and created his own circumstances. He held the key to the situation and he used it at the right moment to win freedom for his people and deliver them from the domination of two forces—the British and the Hindus. His foremost achievement was his

own impeccable character which presented a picture of complete consonance between his private and public life. Though always in the thick of the battle, he remained untainted by the dross of political strife, because his weapons were incorruptible integrity, indomitable courage and wisdom born of true faith. By example rather than precept he proved that, even in the present day materialistic world, if one adheres to truth and justice, one ultimately emerges successful from any crisis, no matter what dangers and calamities beset one's path.

Sir Olaf Caroe, a former Governor of NWFP who knew him personally, delineates the Quaid-i-Azam's character as follows: "Jinnah was much more than a politician. Perhaps that is why politicians do not speak well of him. In Muslim terms he was a Mujaddid, one of those reformers sent once in a century, as the pious believe, to reinterpret the faith and guide the believer on the true path. That outwardly he looked a little like an Englishman, maybe to us here not a derogation but a challenge. The chief impression that remains is one of integrity and singleness of purpose. An undoubted outward pride of demeanour was in reality the expression of a sort of inner uprightness that would not suffer the second-rate or compromise with subtlety or devious tactics in any shape or form. It was the undeviating pursuit of what was to him the right and not merely the political end that led to Jinnah's remarkable success."

A GIFTED LEADER AND STATESMAN

by Professor Ziauddin Ahmad

MAN is as much known for what he says and does, as by the love or hate he arouses. No wonder we loved the Quaid-i-Azam. We loved him for what he was — a profound lawyer, a practical politician, a sound statesman, a gifted debater, a consummate master of logic, a born leader of men, and a militant fighter. He stood for justice, for freedom, for equal rights, for the rule of the people, for an open society, and for a noble Pakistan.

Since 1937 the Quaid-i-Azam steered the ship of the Muslim League through stormy and rough seas. He had to create and unite a nation and remove the wave of pessimism that was overwhelming the Muslim minds. He had to remake men and furnish them with fresh emotional equipment. Renan, the French philosopher, rightly says "Man is enslaved neither by his race nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. An aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness, and infuses in the masses the idea of reasserting their hegemony, and prepares them for achieving their lost Empire".

How beautifully our poet of the East, Iqbal, defines the conception of a true leader: "By leaders I mean men who by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gifts and cannot be made to order."

Mr. Winston Churchill with clarity epitomises the traits of such a towering personality: "The world naturally looks with some awe upon a man who appears unconcernedly indifferent to money, comfort, rank or even power and fame. The world feels, not with a certain apprehension, that here

is some one outside its jurisdiction, some one before whom its allurements may be spread in vain, some one strangely enfranchised, untamed, untramelled by conventions, moving independently of the ordinary currents of human action, a being readily capable of violent revolt or supreme sacrifice, a man, solitary, austere, to whom existence is no more than a duty, yet a duty to be faithfully discharged."

Reminiscing on 9th August 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam spoke thus in reply to the speech of Mr. Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, at the Karachi Club Annexe on Saturday night:

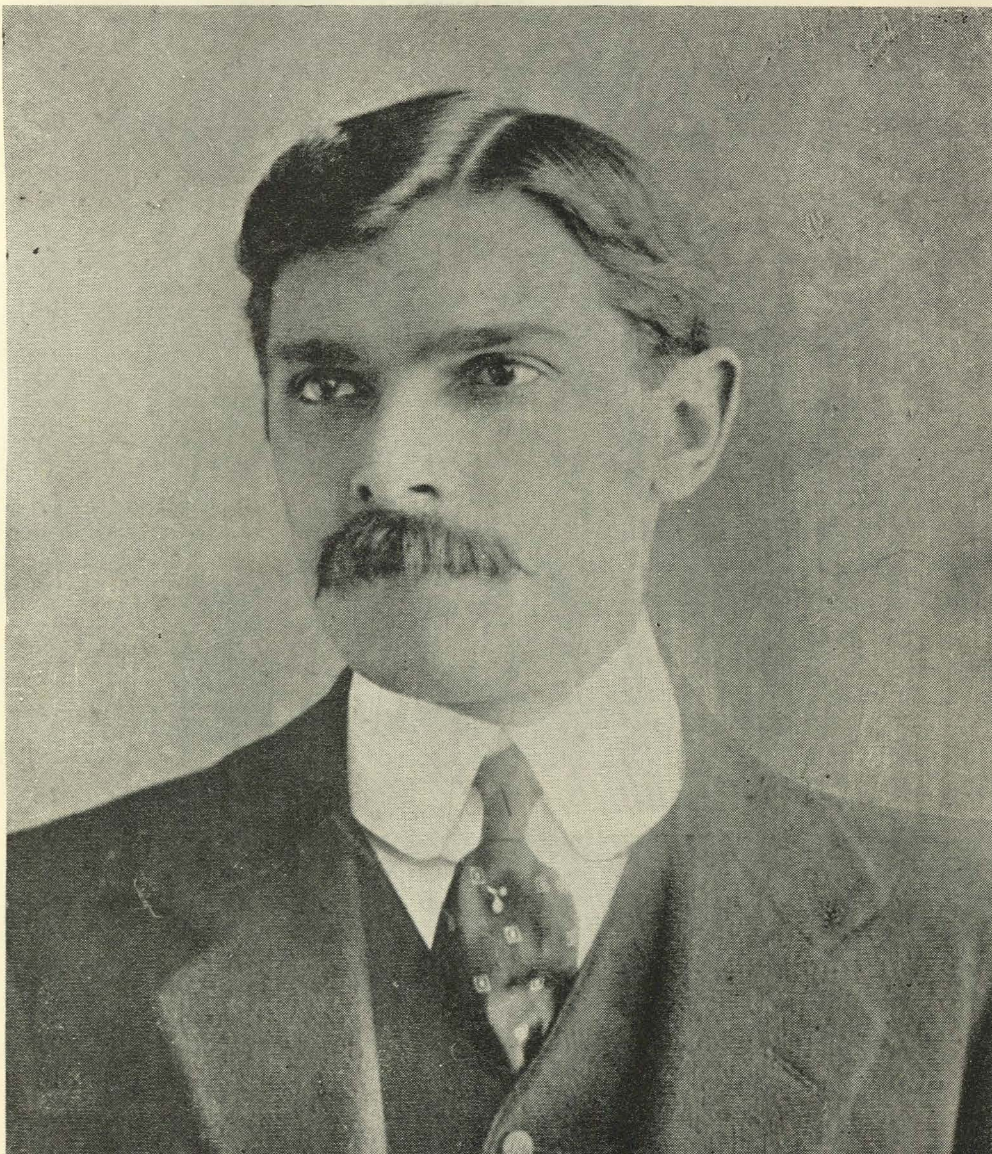
"Mine has been a chequered career. I was born at Karachi and played marbles somewhere on the sands of Karachi. I was schooled at Karachi. Then I was tossed across the ocean and found myself in London. Later, I was hurled back from London. I returned and the question was, what next? Fate decided that I should go to Bombay. There again I was thrown into the ocean of law and went on waiting for a brief. At last I got a brief. I went on my own way not knowing where I shall be next. Destiny has decided that I should come back to my birth place, and that too with something that has no parallel in the world. We have become a completely independent and sovereign nation, not by bloodshed but by peaceful methods. It was not I alone who achieved it but I had millions with me and specially the masses. The intelligentsia came last, the masses came first. I am proud that I am not that Governor-General, who was an agent of another power but a Governor-General who has been chosen by the people.

"All that is best in Sind is present at this gathering. I have never forgotten it and will never forget it — our duty towards the poor. It is your sacred duty to look after the poor and serve them. I would never have gone through toil and suffering for the last ten years, had I not felt it our sacred duty towards them. We must secure for them better living conditions. It should not be our policy to make the rich richer, but this does not mean that we want to uproot things. We can quite consistently give all their due share."

"I am asked: 'What about the minorities?' To my non-Muslim friends I say: "Let us trust each other. It is no use trying to arrive at a precise formula which remains on paper only. There is no need of formula. But let reality speak".

"With determination, courage, solidarity and with the help of every citizen, we shall make this State a real power. Let us work double shifts if necessary, so that we may make Pakistan a real State and a great nation."

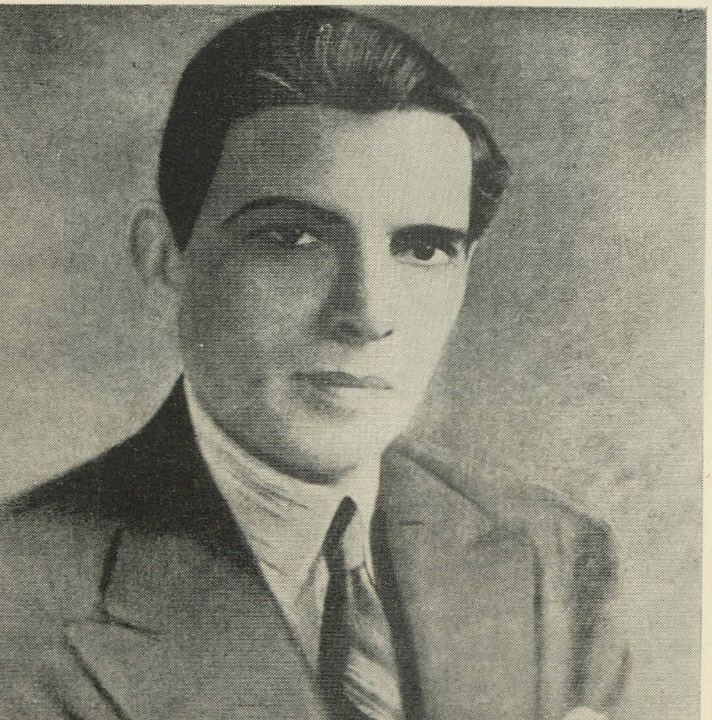
Paying a touching tribute to his sister, Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam said, "During all these years of worry and hard work my



Mohammad Ali Jinnah as a young Barrister.

Quaid-i-Azam with his daughter Dina.





Quaid-i-Azam in his younger days.

sister was like a bright ray of light and hope whenever I came back home and met her. Anxieties would have been much greater and my health much worse but for the restraint imposed by her. She never grudged, she never grumbled. Let me reveal to you something that you probably do not know. There was a time when we were face to face with a great revolution. We were ready and prepared to face bullets and even death. She never said a word but on the contrary she encouraged me. For solid ten years she has stood for me and sustained me."

QUAID-I-AZAM — FOUNDER OF TWO NATIONS

by M. H. Saiyid

DURING the life time of the Quaid-i-Azam, a Hindu journalist friend of mine had expressed the opinion that in the subcontinent of India Mr. Jinnah was probably the only individual who had, in the real sense of the word, lived his life. He was reasonably rich and comfortably placed in personal matters. He distinguished himself as a legal brain, as a leader of men, as a statesman, as a citizen of his country and, above all, as a man of character. To crown it all, he added, his achievements were unaided.

Whatever might have been the sentiments behind this statement, it is interesting to study some of the events connected with the period in which the Quaid-i-Azam lived and the circumstances which might have been moulded by him, or which might have influenced him in turn.

Towards the close of the last century the Quaid-i-Azam had returned to his homeland, after having been called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn, London. His revered father was at the time a businessman in Karachi, and naturally his son began his legal practice here. The courts of justice in Karachi in those days were of a subordinate nature to those at Bombay, and the young Mohammad Ali Jinnah soon discovered that his talents would find a better outlet in a wider legal field than was available to him in the city of his birth. He decided to proceed to Bombay and carve out a career for himself, particularly because there he would have the opportunity of becoming conversant with all aspects of law and legal practice. It was a difficult and a rather bold decision for a young man to take, as he had few connections and practically no resources. Many of his friends and elders tried to dissuade him from taking such a drastic step and instead to continue his efforts in Karachi. But this was a decision carefully taken, after long hours of

serious thought. It was firm and final and there was, for him, no going back.

Indeed, this was the strong point of the Quaid-i-Azam's character. In his later years of maturity and wisdom, we find him proclaiming to his millions of followers that they should think a hundered times before they take a decision, but once they had taken it there should be no room for resilience. In all walks of life the Quaid-i-Azam has demonstrated that this principle has been his guideline.

He reached Bombay in a state of loneliness, and, through the good offices of a family friend, obtained the permission to read in the chambers of MacPherson, then Attorney-General of Bombay Presidency. It was a courteous concession in those days, as it was unthinkable that an Indian should be so closely associated with a prominent member of the ruling class. The readership was, however, not lucrative at all. Mohammad Ali Jinnah waited for three long years to get a single brief. It was indeed a tiring game of patience and utter boredom. And yet for him there was no going back upon his unwavering determination.

Could he not take part-time work or a side-line? "No", he once himself remarked. "Once, you decide upon an occupation, you must pursue it to the end, because if you change your mind, you must start as a novice in your new position and you may have to wait for the same time before you succeed. All your past labours are lost to you for ever, as your attention remains divided. Then with glow in his eyes and with a confident air ot authority he declared, "Chances do come in life. You have to wait for them. In some cases they come soon and some have to wait for long long years". As he uttered these words, his eyes deepened as if he went far back in time when he used to walk the distance to his office and back, with no money in his pocket to pay the bus fare.

A chance did, after all, come to him, when as he said he was almost bursting with the desire of getting an opportunity for being heard. A vacancy of a Presidency Magistrate had ocourred. Once again Mohammad Ali Jinnah made a decision and by a most fascinating process of self-introduction and single-handed endeavour, the details of which will be too long to relate here, he obtained the covered appointment. Thus strangely enough, the most brilliant advance of future years, started his legal career as a judge of facts and arguments. Those who have been in close touch with the Quaid-i-Azam could always discern in his public life and political discussions a remarkable synthesis between his eagerness to understand and assimilate the points of view of others and the vigour of his own argumentation.

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Six months' magistracy was enough for him. But even during this brief tenure he had scrupulously maintained independence of thought and

his self-respect, even though their exercise must have been restricted due to his official position. A few cases had been brought to his notice in which interested persons from the Police and Administration appeared to have made attempts to obstruct the regular flow of justice or to involve innocent members of society for reasons of their own. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was the last person to tolerate such blatant disregard of the rule of law and he spared no terms to admonish and chastise, whenever he could. Such an unbiased attitude towards justice and an open exposition of official high-handedness had seldom been practised before. He indeed started a chapter which has since then always remained open in the legal annals of the Bombay Courts of Justice.

It is human nature that men in high positions, however narrow-minded, or conscious of their limitations they may be, always appreciate initiative and a frank expression of weighty opinions, from their subordinates, particularly when they are put forward in the larger interests of the working and improvement of the system to which they refer. The Quaid-i-Azam was neither timid nor lethargic. Nor was he indifferent to the theory and principle of his learned profession. He did, therefore, earn his mead of appreciation and was offered to continue as a magistrate on a permanent basis, and thus avail himself of the opportunity of earning ultimately a monthly emolument of Rs. 1,500 — a considerable amount in those days. But with characteristic independence and mindful of the great roles he had intended to play in life he declined to accept it saying that he intended this sum to be his daily target. And Mohammad Ali Jinnah did reach that target within a few years of his practice, and has since then never had the occasion of braving the panges of penury and want.

Earning a comfortable life was, of course, not his main objective. From the very beginning, he had been setting apart considerable portions of his money and time for taking active part in public affairs. He had acquired already in 1906 the means and position to attend the session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta where he took prominent part in the discussions on Muslim Trust Law, as a delegate from the Bombay Presidency. Thereafter Mohammad Ali Jinnah became a rising star on the political horizon of the country.

The Quaid-i-Azam was essentially a practical man. As a public man, unlike many of his illustrious contemporaries, he was not an agitator. Nor did he believe in futile criticism. He was enamoured of the political advancement of his country to ultimate independence. But he was conscious that problems were real and noteworthy. For instance, in the first place, Indian public opinion was not completely united, either on the process and pace

of political advance or on the future set-up of the administrative machinery, interim or final. Secondly, in a democratic India the fears and apprehensions of the various minorities had to be removed. Thirdly, there was the British bureaucracy at work in India, which had been continually resisting all suggestions for any kind of measureable progress. Fourthly, the British vested interests, both at home and abroad, were naturally not willing to part with their influence or assets or even share them with the local people. These interests formed the bulk of the public opinion in Britain on which depended parliamentary party strengths.

Unlike, again, his famous contemporaries, the Quaid-i-Azam did not wish to shut his eyes to these problems or deny them completely. As a statesman, he faced these problems squarely and tackled them one by one as occasions arose. In every corner of the country and from every platform available to him he raised the cry that a unity of mind and heart was an essential requisite before any tangible results could be produced. Even to the minorities and other groups he advocated unity of thought and purpose, so that they could have an effective voice in the so-called national pattern of life. According to him, this was the only honourable way to achieve a quick success and to avoid all confusion in a democratic atmosphere. And whenever he discovered an iota of discord and disruption, whether calculated or accidental, he was among the foremost to voice a vigorous protest, no matter from which quarter it originated.

From a practical point of view, the Quaid-i-Azam believed that problems could be thrashed out and solutions could be found more satisfactorily by a small conference of representatives of all interests concerned, instead of being discussed through the forum of the Press or public meetings. But, for the purpose of the conference it was necessary that the representatives must be recognised, accepted and authorised by their respective groups of the public. All his life, therefore, he had worked for a united programme which could be presented to the British on behalf of the people of India but which would also be acceptable to the minorities and sub-national communities in the Indian body politic. For this purpose agitation and propaganda were not necessary, particularly because they were likely to degenerate into lawlessness and mob rule, which would be difficult to control, and which would result only in tighter administrative measures and prolongation of foreign rule. What was needed, in fact, was the utilisation of every opportunity for the promotion and continuance of a machinery by means of which representatives of the various schools of thought and various elements of public life could be thrown up, who would be in a position to deliver the goods on behalf of their followers. In this process he also included the

Indian ruling princes.

As regards bureaucracy in India and British vested interests, he had come to the conclusion that nothing but cold logic and legal argumentation would appeal to them, as they were obviously not interested in the Indian public sentiment. On the contrary, they were there to safeguard and maintain the imperial requirements. Placed as they were, indeed, they had no alternative. Mohammad Ali Jinnah accepted their *de facto* and *de jure* position as it was.

In this background should be appreciated the so-called constitutionalism of the Quaid-i-Azam. Many of his critics had suggested that the political agitation conducted by him was strictly within the framework of law and order, and, therefore, a very slow process for the advancement of freedom. And yet no contemporary has been able to achieve such a large measure of success in speeding up the pace of progress as he has been able to do. The achievement of freedom for India and Pakistan in seven years after the formulation of a practical solution of the constitutional problem in the light of the Lahore Resolution is the biggest proof of the correctness of his policies.

After the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 an Imperial Legislative Council was to be set up in which the Indian representatives were to sit for the first time. In 1910 during the first elections, as if by an act of Providence, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was unanimously chosen to represent the Muslims of Bombay and he took part in every debate which purported to deal with an All-India subject, censuring the British and Indian policies, which he considered to be against the self-respect of the Indian people. His utterance in protest of treatment meted out to the Indians in South Africa was probably the first outspoken criticism of the Government policies in the country.

Soon after came the offer from the Viceroy that he intended to appoint one Indian as a member of his Executive Council. This was again the culmination of the Quaid-i-Azam's effort. It was stated that the portfolio of law should be thrown open, and that the candidature of S.P. Sinha, a prominent lawyer from Calcutta, would be acceptable. But Sinha was indifferent and the onus of convincing him fell on Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Gokhale. It was largely through the persuasion of the Quaid-i-Azam that Sinha finally agreed. In the Legislative Council Mohammad Ali Jinnah introduced the first non-official bill dealing with the Waqf Alal Aulad, which soon became law.

Apart from the subjects of constitutional progress and those which could be called strictly political, he had been continuously demanding that Indians should be associated with the administration in larger numbers and at higher positions. He advocated that the competitive examinations for

recruitment to the Civil Services should also be held in India and not in Britain only. He asked for the establishment of a military academy in India and that higher ranks of military services should be thrown open to Indians. Both of these became the accepted practices later. Towards the cause of constitutional advance through a united programme between the parties concerned, his greatest contribution was the Lucknow Pact of 1916, which immediately found an echo in the Reforms of 1919. His suggestion that Sind and North-West Frontier Provinces should be constituted as separate provinces also took a practical shape.

As a rule the next reform in the Indian constitutional field became due in 1929, and the Government set up commissions in this regard a few years before the due time. But the failure of the All Parties Conference, in which Mohammad Ali Jinnah took a leading part, and the unfortunate recommendations of the Nehru Report and the consequent denial by other leaders of the existence of the most important minority problems, reduced the hope of a political settlement.

It was quite natural that the Muslims of India became sceptical and apprehensive of the majority community and they began to realise the practicability of the Quaid-i-Azam's political wisdom. The need for organisation and unity of purpose was felt among Muslims and when in the early thirties the Round Table Conferences were called in London, Muslim opinion had already shown signs of becoming a solid bloc. But even during these Conferences a united programme was impossible and the British Prime Minister had to announce the Communal Award.

For Mohammad Ali Jinnah this was a rather disheartening situation. The draft constitution that emerged from these Conferences left much to be desired, and when it was put on the British parliamentary anvil he was in London using his good offices and exercising his influence for the removal of those features which, he thought, would improve the practicability of the constitution.

The new Government of India Act came into force in the year 1935. The consensus of the Indian opinion was in favour of a total rejection of these reforms, but Muslim attitude, led by the Quaid-i-Azam, was in favour of utilising them for whatever they were worth. The Act consisted of three parts: federal, provincial and the Communal Award. When the Act came before the Central Legislative Assembly for consideration, the Assembly was composed of three main parties—the European and official party, the Congress party and the Independent Party led by the Quaid-i-Azam. The Independent party was in the position of controlling the balance of the voting strength. The Quaid-i-Azam, therefore, divided the original resolution into three parts.

With the help of the Congress party he rejected the federal part; siding with the official group he accepted the provincial part, and with both remaining neutral he steered the Communal Award through. Thus, he triumphed over the opposite forces and demonstrated his extraordinary parliamentary skill and wisdom.

Immediately after the passing of the resolution on the Government of India Act of 1935, the provincial part came into force and elections were held in accordance with the provisions of the Communal Award. Before the elections, the Quaid-i-Azam again made a bid for united action, and after long discussions it was decided that the All India Muslim League and the All India Congress should not oppose each other's candidates and that after the elections both of them would form coalition parties wherever they could. But much to the dismay of the Muslim leader, the Congress decided to boycott the provincial ministries. However, when they found that in most of the provinces the Muslim League Ministers had started working, the Congress reversed its decision and entered the provincial ministers without the help of the Muslim League. What was more alarming was that once in office the Congress proceeded to change the cultural pattern of the social and political life of the country to give it a Hindu bias.

It was quite natural that in these circumstances Muslim apprehensions became deep rooted and in various parts of the country communal riots became more frequent. Two years later, when the Congress Governments resigned from office, the Muslims heaved a sigh of relief. The success of the Day of Deliverance observed by the Muslims throughout the country on the appeal of the Quaid-i-Azam demonstrated beyond doubt that the Muslims did not approve of the policy and programme of the Congress, and it simultaneously established the representative and authoritative character of the Muslim League in regard to Muslim opinion.

The declaration of the Second World War in 1939 brought in its wake new problems to the country. The Congress was of the opinion that since India had joined the War without the consent and approval of the Indian people, it would oppose the prosecution of the War. The attitude of the Quaid-i-Azam was again practical, statesmanlike and constitutional. He had realised that India being a dependency and a part of the British empire, the Viceroy had no alternative but to declare war on behalf of India. That was indeed the correct constitutional position and the people of India as subjects of the British Crown had no choice but to help in the conduct of war.

The two attitudes were diametrically opposed. But even then the correct constitutional position was that the central part of the Government of India Act was not in force. The Muslim League, therefore, permitted

the provincial ministries to do their best and take such steps as they think fit for the conduct of the war and suggested that for the interim period, as long as the war lasted, the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be expanded. He further suggested that if the Congress wished to join, then the Muslim League should participate in the Council on the basis of equality, but if the Congress still refused, then the Muslim representatives should have a majority because the main burden of the conduct of war would then rest on them.

As regards the future constitution the Muslim League had put forward the suggestion that those areas in which Muslims were in a majority, as the North-West and the North-East of India, should be re-grouped to form states of their own, which would be independent and sovereign. The resolution to this effect was passed at Lahore in the year 1940, which came to be known as the Pakistan Resolution.

During the seven years that followed, the Quaid-i-Azam was able to convince the British that the principles outlined in the Lahore Resolution were in fact the only possible solution of the Indian constitutional tangle, and in 1947 Pakistan appeared on the map of the world.

To many political observers and students of history this so-called partition of India might have appeared to be unfortunate and unnecessary, but to the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslims in general the establishment of Pakistan and Hindustan remained and still remains as the only alternative by means of which peace could be ultimately brought about in the subcontinent.

The Quaid-i-Azam, indeed, had lived his life in full measure, and when he died in 1948 he left behind him a record of achievements which few of his contemporaries can rival.

There are three main aspects of the Quaid-i-Azam's political achievements in our history. In the first place he was a statesman, secondly he was a spokesman and thirdly he was a leader. Some people may find strong evidence of his being a tactician also, but I think his tactical achievements, some of them, no doubt, of colossal proportions, are in fact the natural corollaries or direct results of his superiority in statecraft, and his remarkable powers of advocacy and persuasion.

For Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the independence of India was an obsession, and he was not willing to reconcile himself to anything less than that. The unflinching insistence on freedom sprang not from the desire of participating in the affairs and destinies of the country to which he belonged but from his intense feeling of patriotic self-respect and self-realisation. He could not comprehend that a people, versatile, intelligent and dynamic to whom he belonged and whom he undoubtedly judged and

measured by his own standards, should be able to do nothing, and almost think nothing for their own welfare.

At the same time he realised that, placed as India was, constitutionally and politically, there were difficulties. Although he had implicit faith in the good intentions of the British people, he was conscious of the fact, as a wise statesman, that the most effective section of the British and probably the international economic interests, would continue to endeavour that the political and administrative control of India is retained by them at all costs. No doubt, he was convinced that the principle that India must be governed by her own people would assert itself one day and would become a practical reality, but he was also convinced that the speed of evolution to this end, would be resisted strongly by those groups who had economically thrived on India's subjugation and also by those families who had earmarked the country as a stepping stone for their youngsters. This was a great problem. This was the basic consideration which gave rise to what is known as the constitutional agitation of Naoroji, Gokhale and Mehta, and which in later years came to be ascribed with a vengeance to the Quaid-i-Azam. He was branded at best as an armchair politician with little or no regard for public welfare and with no knowledge of what the masses wanted. It has been one of the most unfortunate trends of our history that those who dared to differ with the more vocal part of our public life, have been labelled as worthless trouble mongers, even though they may be giving the sanest and wisest counsel. The Quaid-i-Azam likewise was not spared.

I think there is no one in our modern history, among Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and others, who has, as an individual, contributed so much to the constitutional, political and social progress of this vast subcontinent, as did Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Take for instance, the Muslim Waqf Law, Elementary Education, Indianisation of Army and Defence Forces, and Civil Services, and Railways. Take also the Indianisation of the Supreme Court of Justice, streamlining of law and legislation and numerous other positive suggestions ultimately resulting in the famous Lahore Resolution—the only and final solution of the Indian constitutional problem. In fact, if the Quaid-i-Azam had not asserted himself, as he did at Lahore, India would not have got her independence in such a short time.

As a spokesman the Quaid-i-Azam was probably the only person in our history who had the capacity to subserve his own opinions to the collective mandate of his people. An example is found in the question of electorates. As early as 1916 he had said, that rightly or wrongly, the Muslims had insisted upon separate electorates and the question should not be resisted any longer. Everybody knew that at that time the Quaid-i-Azam was himself not in favour

of separate electorates. But then he was speaking as a spokesman, although evidence can be produced that even at this historic occasion he was not speaking merely as a Muslim representative but as a statesman, and that his pronouncement was merely a statement of facts.

As a leader the Quaid-i-Azam's greatest contribution was towards Hindu-Muslim unity. This was also an obsession with him because he believed that he could not hope to achieve independence without this unity. He was so enamoured of this union of purpose that when he found that the Hindus were not willing to concede the principle of separate elections to Muslims, he even made frantic efforts to get his Muslim brethren to agree to joint electorates. This happened in 1929, in the hope that this will demonstrate the extreme anxiety of Muslim Leaders for the achievement of independence. Only the magic wand of Mr. Jinnah could do that trick.

As a leader, the Quaid-i-Azam's greatness lies in the fact that unlike Congress Hindu leadership which believed in exciting public opinion and creating lawlessness, civil disobedience and consequent confusion, he appealed to his countrymen to be calm, deliberate and judicious in their decisions and action. At no other time, the statesmanship and the pattern of Quaid-i-Azam's leadership was felt more acutely than it is today.

After the Lucknow Pact Muslim history has recorded various movements and counter-movements. In the first place it was an era of sabotage during which all efforts for unity were shattered to the ground. It was also an age of camouflage. Within the course of ten years following the Lucknow Pact, as many as five Muslim Presidents were elected to the Congress, while two were elected before this decade and two afterwards. This also was followed by Lord Birkenhead's challenge to the people of India to produce a constitution with a reasonable measure of agreement, and the announcement of the Simon Commission. The production of the famous Nehru Report and the All-Parties Conference at Calcutta — a jumble of interplay of sabotage and camouflage — finally killed the hope of unity. The new constitution which was due in 1929 was delayed by six years.

It was at this time that the Quaid-i-Azam, perhaps decided that the time had come to try another alternative. It must, however, be understood that this alternative was still not final, nor was it put forward in a spirit of defeat or of desperation, but propounded by leaders of thought much earlier, and shipshaped later by Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Lala Lajpat Rai, Chowdhury Rehmat Ali and even later by Dr. Iqbal; it was put on the anvil of public scrutiny and judgement by Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

The conduct of the Round Table Conferences, the promulgation and working of the Government of India Act of 1935, the declaration of war

in 1939 and events in the succeeding years proved that the issue before India was not merely independence, but of power politics in which the main contending parties were the Hindus and the Muslims.

At this juncture, it fell to the lot of the Quaid to give a positive lead, as he had been doing all through his political career. Consequently, he formulated the famous Lahore Resolution as the only possible solution of India's political constitutional problems.

In these circumstances it should be appreciated that the proposition put forward by the Quaid-i-Azam was the inevitable solution of the constitutional problem of the subcontinent, not only for Pakistan but also for India. It was because of the Quaid-i-Azam that India and Pakistan achieved independence. Indeed, he is not merely the founder of Pakistan but the founder of both Pakistan and India.

Pakistan Times, Lahore, December 25, 1969.

SOME ASPECTS OF QUAID-I-AZAM'S LIFE

by Nasim Ahmad

HISTORY is perhaps a better judge of its creators, for it is cognisant of their lives, and witnesses the fruition or failure of their mission.

The life of the Quaid-i-Azam is so identified with Pakistan that her progress, and the country's role in the international sphere, can alone be the finishing touches to his life's portrait.

Our assessment of the Quaid's life and mission would be limited, for we cannot presently comprehened the various processes released in our national life by the Pakistan Movement. Few would have attributed to Washington, during his period, the success in American history with which he was later crowned by historians. The world, similarly, today appreciates the achievement of Lenin in the formation of the Communist Soviet Union better than it did after the Revolution in Russia. Jinnah's contribution to human history, too, will be more properly assessed by posterity for it will possess the necessary perspective. While Pakistan is now firmly established, the movements—economic, social, political and spiritual—which will lead Pakistan to the goal of progress set before it, are still in their embryonic stage. In their success lies the ultimate fruition of Jinnah's mission.

Born in a Muslim mercantile family of Karachi Khojas on December 25, 1876, Jinnah's early life was environed by the degradation and decadence which befell the Muslims of India after their failure in 1857 to overthrow the growing British authority in the country. It was only towards the turn of the century, as the Quaid grew up, that the British brought to an end their persecution and subjugation of the Muslim community. Jinnah found himself among a people whose political, economic and social fabric had been rudely shaken. At that time Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was persuading the

Muslims to accept the consequences of the British rule, and to benefit from the Western learning, realising how suicidal was their resistance to these institutions. He advised them to follow the example of the Hindus who were reforming their lives to meet the demands of the times, and were preparing, stage by stage, to win over power from the British.

One day little Mohammed Ali Jinnah accompanied his father to a Karachi court. He sat in the court room, listening to the lawyers and was so impressed by it that, from then onwards, nothing could shake his resolve to go to England for training as a barrister. Jinnah's family did not welcome the plans of their ambitious son, and it was the persuasion of Sir Frederick Croft, a friend of the family, who was engaged in business and legal practice in Bombay and Karachi, which prevailed upon Jinnah Poonja to allow him to go to Britain for legal education.

Jinnah matriculated from Karachi Mission High School, then attached to Bombay University, and sailed for England in 1892. He found in English life a deep impression of the philosophy of the Liberals. The Quaid's initial political training was influenced by the politics of the Liberal Party which exercised considerable influence in Britain at that time. During his stay in England as a student, Jinnah actively associated with the movement for women's suffrage—then a serious controversy in that country—and he was one of the principal campaigners in the election of Dadabhai Naoroji in the working-class constituency of Central Finsbury in London. In the later years he continued to uphold the principles of constitutionalism, democracy and women's emancipation.

The comforts which Jinnah enjoyed during his London stay were few, for it was beyond his means to lead a princely life. For considerable time he lived with a lower middle class family, as a paying guest, in the smoky, factory-infested district of Paddington. Thus he came to know the English in their ordinary life. They were to find in him later one of those negotiators, determined and exacting, who are fully conversant with British ways of life.

The Quaid's study for barristership was interrupted during his course's final year owing to financial setbacks at home. He spent about one year with a theatrical company staging Shakespearean plays, as a prompter, to collect enough funds for the resumption of his studies. On his return he found that the family fortunes had disappeared, and the problems of livelihood fell on Jinnah's youthful shoulders. He, therefore, left for Bombay to seek his fortune. For over three years he waged a bitter struggle against the privations of poverty until he found the job of a Presidency Magistrate in 1900. Sir John Molesworth MacPherson, the Bombay lawyer in whose chambers Jinnah studied, helped the Quaid to build his legal career.

Jinnah possessed far too independent a mind to stay in that job for more than few months. He left the Magistrate's post to set up his own legal practice which prospered within a few years.

Jinnah was known for his impatience with ambitious young men who aspire for high positions without first equipping themselves with necessary experience and training. The reason for his impatience is obvious, for the Quaid himself waged a hard struggle before achieving success. I can recall the rebuke he administered to some such young men of Lahore during the winter of 1946. Flattered by the success of their election campaign, they suggested to Jinnah to encourage young blood in the ranks of the Muslim League leadership. He told them of the hardships which befell him during the first few years of his legal practice, and his advice to them was to "go through the mill" before ever aspiring for positions of power and prestige.

The Indian politics of the years between 1900 and 1919 were dominated by pseudo-secular leadership. This leadership was mainly provided by liberal-minded public men belonging to various communities. Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, C.R. Das and Jinnah personified the non-communal outlook of this leadership. This political phenomenon had no deep roots, for Hindus and Muslims remained essentially what Jinnah himself discovered later: two separate nations.

All attempts, mostly prompted by sincere motives of this leadership, to guide the politics of India in secular channels, were frustrated because a secular ground, on which the foundations of secularism in India could be laid, was not existent. In spite of the discouraging circumstances, this leadership did produce some remarkable examples of Hindu-Muslim amity such as Gokhale's support for separate electorates for Muslims and the 1916 "Jinnah Pact" signed at Lucknow.

Hindu writers have made much of Jinnah's exit from the "nationalist" platform in Indian politics, and some of them have even gone to the extent of implanting on him the label of a "betrayer". But it must be admitted that his departure from India's political stage in the early twenties was justified, for it was clear to a man of his principles and stature that the sentiments which promoted the Lucknow Pact had become a dead letter, and the public was being humbugged with the new political slogans inspired by Gandhi's "Ram Raj". He could contribute nothing to such politics, and Jinnah took the honest course of leaving the affairs to be piloted by those who unleashed the new trends.

Jinnah's first venture into active Indian politics was as Private Secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji at the Calcutta session of the Indian Congress

in 1906 when the platform of the organisation was broadened, under the influence of younger members, to bring it closer to the masses. In 1909, Jinnah was elected from the Muslim constituency of Bombay to represent it in the Supreme Legislative Council. He soon proved his capabilities as a parliamentarian, and became an ardent champion of civil liberties in India. Jinnah was often censured by the President of the Council, Lord Minto, for his outspoken utterances in the House. When the Education Bill was put forward by Gokhale in 1912, he could find no better advocate of the cause of education than Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Nawab Abdul Majid, who had insinuated, in his opposition to the Bill, that there might be strikes as a result of mass education, and that Socialism might gain strength, was among those whom Jinnah took severely to task for following unpatriotic and reactionary ideas.

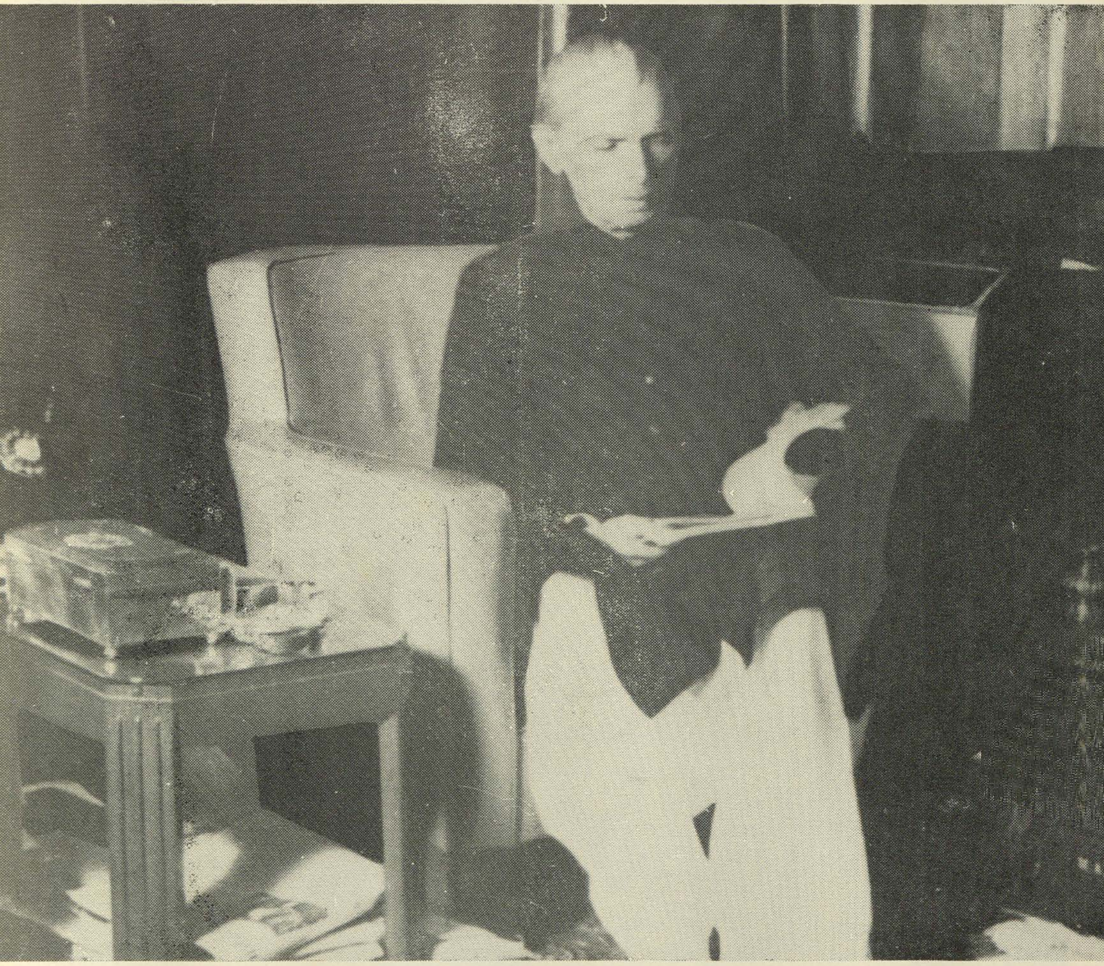
As the 1914-1919 War drew to a close, Jinnah, who then ranked among the leading parliamentarians and leaders of India, was rightly hailed as the "Ambassador of Unity". Through his efforts the 1916 Hindu-Muslim alliance was brought about to ensure that the British Government honoured the promises regarding the transfer of power to the Indians, made during the years England was engaged in fighting Germany with the help of armies recruited in India. After the war, however, it became clear that the British did not mean business, and most of the promises made by the British spokesmen were not honoured. This situation frustrated the leaders who had sought to evolve a path to Indian freedom through constitutional and democratic means.

Muslims had particular reason to feel agitated because the war had brought about the downfall of the Muslim rule in Turkey. They demanded that Turkey be left alone, and backed their demands by mass demonstrations and protests.

Frustrated by the British *volte face*, sceptical of Gandhi's moves within the Congress, and not quite clear what dividends the Muslim agitation was going to yield, Jinnah accepted a self-imposed, temporary political eclipse. It was after about one decade that he returned to save the Muslims from cultural annihilation and to salvage the political fabric of the Muslim League.

Jinnah remained, during this period, a consistent supporter of the cause of Indian freedom and the rights of Muslims, but he refrained from accepting any major responsibility for the direction of affairs.

The prospect of the transfer of power having been brought nearer by the 1935 Act, it became apparent to Jinnah that sound political leadership could alone reorganise the dissident Muslim ranks. He democratised



Quaid-i-Azam is reading in his study chamber.



Quaid-i-Azam with his sister Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah,

the Muslim League to bring it nearer to the masses. Jinnah found the Muslims a ready audience, for their experiences under the newly-elected Provincial Ministries of the Congress Party had made it plain that Swaraj meant pure and simple Hindu Raj to them. They had been repeatedly betrayed by the Hindu leadership, and no effort had been spared to disintegrate them politically, economically and culturally. The Quaid was thus the man then needed as a guide and organiser of the Muslims in India. Jinnah was still not altogether dismayed with Hindu leadership in spite of what had been happening during those years. Repeatedly he called upon the Muslims to stand by the side of the Hindus in the cause of India's freedom. "The eighty million Muslims of India are willing, and more anxious than any other community, to fight for the freedom of India hand in hand with other communities", was his advice to a Muslim gathering in Delhi in 1936. Jinnah remained hopeful of a settlement with the Congress which could unite the Hindu-Muslim ranks for a common struggle for freedom, which ensured the Muslims a rightful place in the liberated India.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah's efforts to convince the leadership of the Congress of the necessity of a Hindu-Muslim agreement before a struggle for freedom received repeated rebuffs. The Congress Ministries, on the contrary, increased the repression of Muslims in the provinces dominated by them. This situation made it impossible for Jinnah to move towards any other course than the demand for the right of self-determination for the Muslims embodied in the Lahore Resolution of 1940. Allama Iqbal had earlier enunciated the theory advocating a Muslim homeland in India during the course of his address to the Muslim League in 1930. It was then considered a lone cry and no one could have thought that the ideas of the poet were going to be the moving force behind the Muslim resolve ten years later to bring into being their separate, independent State in India.

Few nations were united in so short a time as the Muslims of India. In the Lahore Resolution they had found the translation of their aspirations, and the nation rose to a man when Jinnah set about the task of organising the Muslims for the attainment of Pakistan. Less than six years later, the Muslims accorded their unified support to the struggle for Pakistan.

The British Government released the leaders of the Congress Party, arrested earlier on the alleged charge of hampering Britain's war effort. Jinnah was again confronted with their old objections to his leadership of the Muslims and to the validity of the demand for Pakistan. An effective answer to these tactics of the Congress was provided by the solid support of the Muslims to Pakistan in the 1946 elections. The provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, which were the key provinces of the Pakistan Movement,

completely wiped out the remaining traces of British and Hindu influence on the Muslim body-politic. Jinnah and the Muslim League became a force which the British and the Hindus had to reckon with.

Jinnah's direction of the Muslim politics after the election victory in 1946 demonstrated his skill as an astute political craftsman. He surmounted, one by one, the difficulties created to discourage him from pursuing the struggle for Pakistan.

The Muslim League found itself in the wilderness when, on account of the surrender by Lord Wavell to the pressure of the Congress, an Executive Council was set up by the Viceroy which only included members of the Hindu organisation. That was a "political Dunkirk" for Mohammed Ali Jinnah. His shrewd moves, however, later forced the British and the Hindus to accept the Muslim League nominees in the Executive Council. They were also forced to concede, in consequence, to the establishment of Pakistan. Pakistan became an inevitable solution to the impasse created by the Anglo-Hindu alliance, originally aimed to destroy the Muslim movement.

The debt our country owes to the Quaid as the first Governor-General of Pakistan for firmly establishing the foundations of Pakistan cannot be estimated. His guidance of our affairs, in the initial stages of our national growth, served as a tremendous unifying and sustaining force.

Dawn, Karachi, December 25, 1950.

HE SHALL NEVER DIE

TWO notable parallel movements were started in India at the time when the Musalmans had ceased to exist in the political field. One was started by Syed Ahmad Khan and the other fourteen years later by Syed Amir Ali, a great scholar of Islam who differed with Syed Ahmad Khan in every respect. Syed Ahmad's movement attempted at "saving the Muslims from the fury of the new masters". Syed Amir Ali's movement was to keep alive the pride in the past glories of Islam, to retain the spirit of Islam and be nourished by it.

As time went by, the two movements separated widely. Syed Ahmad's movement was taken up and corrupted by self-seekers and a group of politicians who relished loyalty to the alien Raj which rewarded them with titles and helped them to maintain their feudalism. Syed Amir Ali's movement got impetus as soon as Maulana Mohammad Ali rebelled against the former group and took up the cause of the spirit of Islam with his dashing pen and untiring tongue, aided very ably by his Big Brother, Shaukat Ali.

Those two movements ultimately culminated in Pakistan. Iqbal, born in 1877 and Jinnah born in 1876, became two links between the two movements. Iqbal was a man of words and Jinnah a man of action. Placed between these two popular movements, Iqbal, the great philosopher, conceived the idea of Pakistan in 1930 and finally persuaded Jinnah, the great statesman, in 1937 to adopt it as the political goal of the Musalmans of India.

Iqbal gave his message to the Muslims in 1930 at the All-India Muslim League session held at Allahabad. He had returned disappointed from the first Round Table Conference. Jinnah, the nationalist Indian liberal, was

in London at the time. Maulana Mohammad Ali had passed away. The Aga Khan, who was at that time the *de facto* leader of Muslim India, did not look beyond the British Empire.

Iqbal was the only Muslim leader who was able to read the Muslim mind. He declared at the League gathering: "If the principle, that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homeland, is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India."

Iqbal believed that "India is the best country in the world" but he thought of India as the greatest Muslim country in the world. Iqbal did not believe in communalism. He in fact, believed: "A community which is inspired by feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty according to the teachings of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be."

When Iqbal laid down his practical proposition before the Muslims at the All-India Muslim League session at Allahabad, his Pakistan was to be a homeland for the people of the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. It was to be a self-government within or outside the British Empire. He said: "The formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India". These words show that Iqbal had Eastern Pakistan in mind but was not confident of the capacity of the Muslims of the North-West forming a union with the Muslims of Bengal and maintaining that entity.

Iqbal's last words in 1931 were: "A redistribution of British India, calculated to secure a permanent solution of the communal problem, is the main demand of the Muslims of India."

Jinnah from his Hampstead home in the neighbourhood of which, once upon a time, lived Keats, was weighing Iqbal's words. He had introduced, even as a nationalist Indian leader, the famous Fourteen Points for the safeguard of the rights of 100 million Muslims of India when his own Muslim collegues had turned a deaf ear to him. He was at the time leading the life of a very busy lawyer and had little time for active politics. His friends started appealing to him to return to India and take up the leadership of the Muslims. He was not very much impressed by Iqbal and his compatriots, Rahmat Ali and others, who wanted to divide India and carve out a homeland for the Muslims.

About the same time (1930) that Iqbal had conceived the idea of

Pakistan, Maulana Mohammad Ali had written to his daughter, Begum Shoaib Qureshi: "The only way in which the Muslims could live was to rule in the provinces where they were in a majority and the Hindus to rule where they had a similar position". Jinnah was still not fully convinced. His correspondence with Iqbal, now published, shows that he gradually came round to see the need for a separate Muslim homeland.

His faith in the leadership of Muslim India at that time had been badly shaken. Its goal was simply to bring about the emancipation of the Muslim masses, to secure for them the peace of slaves, like that of a well-fed bird in a golden cage. Jinnah's vision was much wider. He saw in Iqbal's idea the possibilities of creating a new homeland for the Muslims of India, a revival of the lost glory of Islam and the creation of a focal point not only for the Muslims of the north-west of India or of the eastern part of India but also a kind of political Mecca for the Muslims of the world.

Then came the first elections which were to decide the future of the Muslim nation in the subcontinent of India. The Muslim leaders now feverishly urged Jinnah to return to his homeland and to take in his hands the affairs of the Muslims. There were, of course, many parties and individual busy-bodies, all striving for leadership of the great mass of the Muslim people. Iqbal requested him not only to return but to shoulder the responsibility "for which he was destined by the Almighty" and also to make "Pakistan" his rallying slogan, as "Pakistan alone could solve the vexing communal and constitutional problems". In that letter, Iqbal, for the first time, connected Bengal with Pakistan and asked, "Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other questions, in India and outside are?" In Iqbal's vision, Bengal was still a separate nation.

Jinnah returned and accepted the nation's trust. However, his slogan was not "Pakistan" at that time. He was fighting the election of 1936 for the recognition of the All-India Muslim League as the representative body of the 100 million Muslims of India. Jinnah appeared on the political firmament as a patriot with the full brilliance of a shining star who finally cast away the colours of the Indian National Congress.

From that day he marched onward till he brought the Muslims of India under the full glory of their own distinct nationhood, with a country which they could call their own. He started at a time which seemed the very twilight of Muslim political life in India. With one typewriter and a secretary, and with Liaquat Ali Khan as the organising genius, Jinnah launched his barque on the waters of Indian politics. The 1936 elections not only proved to the world that the All-India Muslim League was the

sole representative of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India, but they brought to the fore a new Muslim leader of unique qualities.

In a letter to Jinnah as early as 1937, Iqbal argued in favour of Pakistan and observed: "You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India."

Jinnah this time agreed with him but did not yet consider the time opportune for giving practical shape to the poet's dream.

Iqbal continued to repeat his arguments over and over again. He defined his conception as the likely basic ideal of the Muslim national group in the body-politic of India. Not envisaging a separate sovereign Muslim State in the days of the first Round Table Conference, Iqbal had quoted from the Nehru Report itself to support his argument.

On the question of the separation of Sind from Bombay the report had said: "To say from the longer viewpoint of nationalism that no communal provinces should be created, is, in a way equivalent to saying from the still wider international viewpoint that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy, it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international state. So also without the fullest national autonomy and communalism in its better aspect, it will be difficult to create a harmonious state".

Iqbal agreed with the authors of the Nehru Report that "communalism in its higher aspect, then, is, indispensable to the formation of a 'harmonious whole', in a country like India". He further explained: "The units of Indian society are not territorial, as in European countries. India, is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India unless the fact of communal groups is recognised."

Six years later, when Jinnah accepted the leadership of the Muslims of India, in a message to "The Spirit of Youth", a journal of the students of Lucknow, he transformed the loose conception of Iqbal into a beautifully worded legal document: "We are a nation, not a minority, a nation of a 100 million with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation."

Jinnah repeated the same argument during negotiations with Gandhi in 1945. From this, it is clear that Jinnah differed with Iqbal on the very fundamentals of Pakistan. While Iqbal was content with a homogeneous unit for the Muslims of his own province and the neighbouring martial provinces, Jinnah's Pakistan was to be a homeland for the entire 100 million Muslims, even though they might have lived, as they are living today, on the soil of India.

Iqbal presented the Muslim demand in 1930 "for the creation of Muslim India", but ten years later, conditions had so changed that Jinnah insisted in 1940 in his famous Lahore Resolution that "it is the considered view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in North-West and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

Jinnah had, no doubt, like a prophet, foreseen what was to come to the Muslims of India later. He wanted "territorial adjustments". No wonder, with the growing influx of refugees from India, some of our leaders demanded territorial adjustments till the very eve of Liaquat-Nehru Agreement.

Iqbal, the poet of Islam, had other dreams. He believed: "The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country depends on its centralisation in a specified territory. This centralisation of the most living portion of the Muslims of India whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia.

"It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus possessing full opportunity of development within the body-politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion one of ideas or of bayonets."

Jinnah used simpler thoughts which did not indicate in the least his leanings towards any particular bloc when he declared: "It should be made clear that the Musalmans do not want separation in order to link their destinies with States outside India. They are not inspired by any such extra-territorial ideals. They desire separation simply because they want to evolve a happier and more contented India."

Neither of them contemplated State-organised migrations or

readjusting of communities on group lines. Iqbal simply asked of Jinnah: "Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India are?" Jinnah agreed but added: "Adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for the minorities in the units and in the regions, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them".

Alas, Pakistan was not born quite as a normal child. Mother India's labour pains were premature and the Whitehall specialist attending on it proved to be a quack when he took his ordinary scissors and mutilated the infant. Three years had to pass before Liaquat Ali Khan, Jinnah's successor, experimented with plastic statesmanship, to dose Muslims left behind in India with the calcium Jinnah had prescribed as early as 1940.

Both Iqbal and Jinnah had taken it for granted that the independent Hindu and Muslim States, as two units in the subcontinent of India, and the defence of the old country, would have to be organised on the basis of a joint policy.

Iqbal said in 1931, "The Punjab with 56 per cent Muslim population supplies 54 per cent. of the total combatant troops in the Indian Army and if the 19,000 Gurkhas recruited from the independent State of Nepal are excluded, the Punjab contingent amounts to 62 per cent of the whole Indian Army. The percentage does not take into account nearly 6,000 combatants supplied to the Indian Army by the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. From this you can easily calculate the possibilities of North-West Indian Muslims in regard to the defence of India against foreign aggression".

Jinnah knew the British better. He was not so sure of these percentages. He wanted to bargain on this defence question with Hindus and not with the British. He actually desired a joint struggle for a common end for the two peoples of the subcontinent. He declared: "Let the Hindus guard the south and the west. Let the Musalmans guard the frontiers. Let us live as good neighbours and stand together and say to the world: Hands off India — India for the Indians".

Thus Iqbal and Jinnah became links in the two separate movements of Syed Ahmad Khan and Syed Amir Ali, which finally merged into one movement of Pakistan. While Iqbal lives today as the guiding spirit of the nation, Jinnah rules as the Quaid-i-Azam who shall never die.

The birth of Pakistan was announced on the 14th of August, 1947. As it happened, Pakistan proved to be the biggest Muslim State and the

fifth largest on the map of the world.

Jinnah, the acknowledged Quaid-i-Azam of the Muslim State of Pakistan, became its first architect. He was our first Amir and Salaar. He made a poet's dream come true. He saved 100 million Muslims from total annihilation. He lived thirteen months after the birth of the new Muslim homeland in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Although he was then seventy-two years of age, and his health and vitality were fast failing, he shouldered the great weight of the events that followed the birth of Pakistan on his frail body with great determination, keeping his head high and his courage strong. He resolutely went ahead.

The same world which had seen the miracle of a bloodless victory of a nation and the birth of the new State in the shortest possible time, in the history of the world was amazed to see the remarkable moral and material progress the State made under the guidance of its great architect in a period of barely thirteen months.

Dawn, Karachi, December 25, 1950.

THE FOUR SUCCESSIVE STEPS TO PAKISTAN

by Professor S. M. Burke

FOR two reasons the unique achievements of Jinnah are less well-known than they deserve to be.

First, the circumstances under which Pakistan came into being were little understood at first and still are not fully understood.

Not even all the Muslims of Pakistan will claim that the setting up of two separate countries in the Indian subcontinent was the ideal solution.

Both Hindus and Muslims as well as the British tried extremely hard till the very last to let the imperial unit which the British had built up stay on as a united nation. Mountbatten, the last Viceroy, tried his utmost to transfer power to just one administration but was compelled to conclude that this was not feasible.

It is not generally appreciated that sovereignty was very nearly handed over not only to two new independent nations but to the several provinces as envisaged in Prime Minister Attlee's statement of February 20, 1947. As a matter of fact Mountbatten had actually obtained the approval of His Majesty's Government to such a plan and one of the main reasons why the Congress leaders accepted the idea of Pakistan was to avoid this Balkanisation of India into many parts.

The partition of British India into two countries was thus not a drastic but a compromise resolution of a tremendously complicated situation. However, it is not easy to wash away deep-seated prejudices against the creation of Pakistan.

The second factor which has contributed towards the same result is that Muslims have not written so much nor so well as non-Muslims. The case against Pakistan has, therefore, been more massively and eloquently

projected than the case in favour of Pakistan. And in any case it is far easier to be allured by the attractive conception of one harmonious country composed of different religions, races and languages, howsoever, impractical it may be, than, it is to accept the more bitter alternative of breaking up an existing map, howsoever realistic it might be under the ciurcumstances.

However, if we move from the popular to the perceptive level, we will find a better assessment of the Quaid-i-Azam's achievements. I will content myself by citing two authorities.

First the "Economist", London. In a recent poll the Germans voted Bismarck the greatest man of all time. On any standards they were wrong, for even in the same genre Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah stands higher. It took Bismarck the same seven years, from the Schleswig-Holstein war to the treaty of Frankfurt, to create the German Empire as it took Jinnah from the Lahore Resolution of 1940 to Independence Day, to make Pakistan. But Bismarck started with all the advantages: a hundred-year old nationalism, the Prussian Army and Civil Service, the Ruhr, 15 years of experience of high office and youth enough still to have 20 years as Chancellor before him in 1870. Jinnah began with nothing but his own ability and the disgruntlement of a religious minority in which he was only an unobservant member of the most hereticalsect, at an age so great that he only lived one year after the birth of his creation and without any experience of public office until he nominated himself Governor-General.

Second, R.C. Majumdar, the doyen of Indian historians. "Nobody can reasonably doubt that India would have surely attained independence, sooner or later even without Gandhi but it is extrémely doubtful whether there would have been Pakistan without Jinnah. He stands out to be the most successful political leader of the period. Whatever the Hindus might think of Jinnah, he has secured a high place in the history of Muslim nation, a term at which we can hardly cavil after the foundation of Pakistan."

Jinnah's political life falls into four clearly marked phases.

(i) One of his earliest appearances on the national scene was at the 1906 session of the Indian National Congress which he attended as Private Secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji, the 82-year-old veteran who presided over that session. During this phase Jinnah identified himself unreservedly with Congress policies.

Recalling those years in his memoirs the Aga Khan wrote, "Who then was our doughtiest opponent in 1906? A distinguished Muslim barrister in Bombay, with a large and prosperous practice, Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah. He said that our principle of separate electorates was dividing the nation

against itself, and for nearly a quarter of a century he remained our most inflexible critic and opponent .... (till) circumstances—most of all the stubborn folly and intransigence of the Hindu majority in Congress—converted this stoutest champion of Indian unity into its most determined opponent".

(ii) The second phase commenced in 1913 when Mr. Jinnah became a member of the Muslim League, while still retaining his place in the Congress Party.

This dual loyalty to the Congress Party as well as to the Muslim League was possible during these years because both these organisations had begun to co-operate closely. Due to the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 and the policies of the European Powers towards the Ottoman Empire, the Muslims of India, had got disenchanted with the British and moved closer to the Congress.

In December 1912 the League changed its objective to full responsible government for India, thus making its demand almost identical with that of the Congress.

Jinnah, having a place of honour in both organisations, was in a position to play an effective role in co-ordinating their efforts. Largely due to his efforts the Congress and the League held their respective annual meetings at the same time and same place. The best known of such gatherings was the one at Lucknow in 1916, with Jinnah presiding over the League session. The Congress and the League there entered into a pact and presented a joint demand to the British Government. This combined pressure of the two main political parties of the country greatly contributed to the Reforms of 1919 which were the first real step towards self-government in India.

In appreciation of Jinnah's mediatory role Gokhale said, "He has true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity".

Then came the Jallianwalla tragedy and the Khilafat Movement and Gandhi's programme of civil disobedience. Jinnah vehemently opposed Gandhi's proposal at the Nagpur session of the Congress in 1920, counselling caution and restraint. However, he was unsuccessful and left that party in protest.

An Indian writer describes the momentous scene in these words: "Great interest was aroused in Gandhiji's Non-Co-operation Resolution. A record number of delegates attended the session. It was known that the President-designate of the year, C. Vijayraghavchariar and the immediate past-President Lala Lajpat Rai were lukewarm on the subject of Non-Co-operation. Maharashtra's opposition was intense as appeared in manifesto

circulated by G.S. Kharparde, on behalf of the Congress Democratic Party founded by Lokhmanya Tilak.

"C. R. Das had come with a large Bengal contingent to cross swords with Gandhiji on the Non-Co-operation Resolution. But there was a somersault on his part and he surrendered to Gandhiji. With the surrender of C.R. Das it seemed that the resolution would be passed unanimously amidst general acclamation. But there arose a man of steel nerves to express his dissent, and he was no other than Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Old Guard, the Great Sentinel of the old Indian National Congress of Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

"During his speech when he referred to Gandhiji and Mohammad Ali as Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mohammad Ali, there was tremendous uproar among the audience who shouted that Mr. Jinnah must prefix Mahatama and Maulana whenever he mentioned the names of Gandhiji and Mohammad Ali, but Jinnah refused to be coerced and was shouted down".

Jinnah's incisive logic could not reconcile itself to Gandhi's anarchical programme. Before the final break at Nagpur, Gandhi had written to Jinnah inviting him to take his share "in the new life that has opened up before the country". To this Jinnah replied:

"If by new life you mean your methods and your programme, I am afraid I cannot accept them; for I am fully convinced that it must lead to disaster....your extreme programme has for the moment struck the imagination mostly of the inexperienced youth and the ignorant and the illiterate. All this means complete disorganisation and chaos....The only way for the Nationalists is to unite and work for a programme which is universally acceptable for the early attainment of complete responsible Government. Such a programme cannot be dicated by any single individual, but must have the approval and support of all the prominent Nationalist leaders in the country, and to achieve this end I am sure my colleagues and myself shall continue to work."

Nor was Jinnah the only Nationalist who found Gandhi's reasoning and programme beyond his comprehension. I have already described the scene at the Nagpur session. Subhas Chandra Bose has also related how disappointed he felt when he had his first interview with Gandhi on May 16, 1921. Bose had just arrived from England, having resigned from the Indian Civil Service, to join the national struggle.

"I desired", he said, "to obtain a clear understanding of the details—the successive stages of his plan, leading on step by step to the ultimate seizure of power from the foreign bureaucracy ....What was to him a question of faith—namely, that Swaraj would be won within one year—was by no

means clear to me and, personally speaking, I was prepared to work for a much longer period. . . . My reason told me clearly again and again that there was a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan which the Mahatama had formulated and he himself did not have a clear idea of the successive stages of the campaign which would bring India to her cherished goal of freedom."

(iii) As I have just stated, Jinnah finally parted company with the Congress Party in 1920.

The years that immediately followed were not marked by any decisive events. The Turks themselves abolished the institution of Khilafat in 1924, thus depriving the Muslims of the main cause round which they had rallied. The Congress, after a disastrous run of civil disobedience, was reeling under the crushing blows of the British Government, boycotted the elections following the 1919 Act, and remained in the wilderness. Violent strife between Hindus and Muslims raised its ugly head.

It was not until 1927, when it was announced that a Royal Commission under Lord Simon would examine the question of further constitutional changes in India, that politics in India noticeably stirred once again.

Though Jinnah had left the Congress he had not yet abandoned his desire for Hindu-Muslim unity. As no Indian had been included in the Simon Commission, the Congress decided to boycott the proceedings. Jinnah proposed that the League do the same. A faction under Sir Mohammad Shafi decided to co-operate with the Commission. But Jinnah and his followers stood firm and boycotted it.

As a counterpoise to the Royal Commission, the Congress Party set up a committee of its own under Pandit Motilal Nehru to prepare a model constitution for India.

Unfortunately, the Nehru Report went back on the Lucknow Pact. It revoked the safeguard of separate electorates and diluted the principle of provincial autonomy by declaring that all residuary subjects would be allotted to the Centre.

To the Muslims the Nehru Report was a warning of what they should expect if power passed into Congress hands.

Jinnah, still striving for Hindu-Muslim unity, made an effort to save the day. The Congress had called an All-Parties Convention at Calcutta in December 1928 to consider the Report. "Believe me", pleaded Jinnah at the Convention, "there is no progress for India until the Muslims and Hindus are united and let no logic, philosophy and squabble stand in the way of our coming to a compromise and nothing will make me more happy than to see the Hindu-Muslim union".

His amendments, however, were lost and he left Calcutta on the following morning. To a friend who had come to see him off he said with tears in his eyes, "This is the parting of ways."

After his painful rebuff at Calcutta, Jinnah went almost directly to Delhi where an all-Parties Conference of Muslims was to meet on January 1, 1929, to prepare a report in response to the Nehru Report. Under the impact of the Nehru Report the two sections of the Muslim League, which had parted company on the issue of boycotting the Simon Commission, thus came together once again.

At the Muslim League session in Delhi in March of that year Jinnah formulated his famous Fourteen Points. But the demand still was for adequate safeguards, not yet for a separate homeland.

At the Round Table Conference in the early thirties Jinnah did not play any notable part. The Aga Khan was the chief spokesman there for the Muslims. After the Conference Jinnah stayed on in England to practise at the Privy Council. He expressed himself disgusted with Indian politics specially with the intrigues and divisions amongst the Muslims themselves.

(iv) The fourth and last phase of Jinnah's career began in 1935 when he was persuaded by Liaquat Ali Khan and others to return to India to organise the Muslims for the forth-coming elections under the Reforms Act passed by Britain that year.

During this period, which culminated in the establishment of Pakistan, and a year later, in Jinnah's death, Jinnah, almost single-handedly, organised a backward and badly divided community and, against tremendous odds, succeeded in setting up a separate, independent nation.

Throughout this period, he faced a well-organised, well-established political party with a mass following—the Congress, headed by numerous glamorous and experienced leaders.

The League Manifesto for the 1937 elections and Jinnah's campaign speeches clearly expressed a willingness to co-operate with the Congress. "Ours is not a hostile movement", declared Jinnah: "Ours is a movement which carries the olive branch to every sister community. We are willing to co-operate, we are willing to coalesce with any group or groups."

It was expected that after the elections the Congress would invite the League to join it in forming coalition governments in the provinces, specially in the United Provinces, where the Congress and the League candidates had generally co-operated during the election days. However, chiefly under the influence of Mr. Jawaharal Nehru, it was decided to offer Cabinet

seats only to those Muslims who would leave the League and swear allegiance to the Congress only. An acceptance of these terms would have meant certain death for the League as a political body.

"This was a most unfortunate development", wrote Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at a later date. "If the U.P. League's offer of co-operation had been accepted, the Muslim League Party would for all practical purposes have merged in the Congress. Jawahar Lal's action gave the Muslim League in the United Provinces a new lease of life. All students of Indian politics know that it was from the U.P. that the League was reorganised. Mr. Jinnah took full advantage of the situation and started an offensive which ultimately led to Pakistan."

"In historical perspective", comments Brecher in his biography of Nehru, "Nehru's attitude towards the League in 1937 was a grave error of judgment."

Then followed the Congress rule in the provinces for a little over a year.

"This was the first time", points out S.K. Majumdar, "when Congress took up the responsibilities of administration and the Muslims watched as to how the Congress would live up to its professed national character. In the circumstances, the Congress authorities ought to have been very cautious over the Muslim susceptibilities, particularly in view of the fact that they had refused the proffered hand of the League to form coalition Ministries. But unfortunately they were not circumspect and allowed the Muslims to have grounds for grievances, real or imaginary."

Hitherto Muslims had hoped that provisions in the Constitution for the preservation of their religion and culture would sufficiently protect their interests in Hindu majority provinces, and provincial autonomy would bar interference in Muslim majority provinces by the Centre which would always have a Hindu majority on account of the all-India preponderance of that community. Experience of Congress rule belied both these considerations.

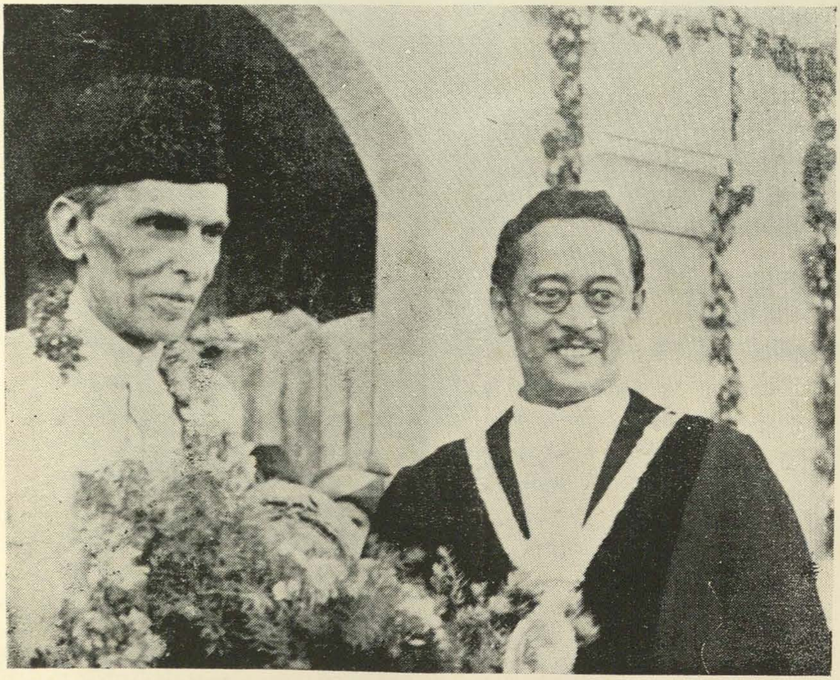
A special committee set up by the All-India Muslim League, under the Raja of Pirpur, after listing specific instances of misrule in the six provinces then under Congress rule, reached the following broad conclusions:

"The Muslims feel that, notwithstanding the non-communal professions of the Congress and the desire of a few Congressmen to follow a truly national policy", a vast majority of the Congress members are Hindus who look forward after many centuries of British and Muslim rule, to the re-establishment of purely Hindu Raj."

Again: "We in India have been brought up in the traditions of the



Some of the leaders of the Lucknow Session of the All-India Muslim League held in October 1937. Sitting L. to R. Khowja Nazimuddin, the Quaid-i-Azam, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Sardar Quli Khan. Standing L. to R. Haji Abdus Sattar Ishaq Seth, Malik Barkat Ali, Abdul Rouf Shah, Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Aurangzeb Khan.



Quaid-i-Azam with Mr. Hatim A. Alvi, Mayor of Karachi, 1938.



Quaid-i-Azam with the members of the Working Committee of Muslim Students Federation at Meerut, March 26, 1939. Sitting L. to R. Quaid-i-Azam is fourth; on his right is Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan Rajah Mohammad Ameer Ahmed Khan of Mahmudabad (sixth), Nawab Mohammad Ismail (seventh)

British parliamentary democracy, and the constitution foisted on us is also modelled, more or less, on the British pattern. There is, however, an essential difference between the body-politic of this country and that of Britain. The majority and minority parties in Britain are interchangeable: their complexion and strength go on changing with the conditions of the country. Today a National Government is in power, but the Conservative, Liberal and Labour parties have an equal chance of running the Government of the country. Here, in India, we have permanent Hindu majority and the other communities are condemned to the position of perpetual minority. Thus it is easy for the majority to assume a non-communal label and do things communal under the cloak of nationalism."

Though it was not clear, at the time, to the participants in the game, Indian politics was in fact decidedly moving from the era of just safeguards to the era of complete separation of Muslims from Hindus. World events, and further Congress mistakes, soon took a hand in accelerating the process.

World War II broke out in September, 1939, and by October of that year the Congress Ministries resigned on the ground that Britain had not propounded its war aims to the satisfaction of the Congress.

Soon afterwards the Congress, under Gandhi's leadership, started a programme of the individual Satyagraha and finally in August 1942, it launched "Quit India" movement under the mantra "Do or Die".

These tactics had disastrous results for the Congress; and the Muslim League, under Jinnah's guidance took full advantage of the situation.

The British were compelled to rely mainly on the Muslims for support in their hour of mortal peril and necessarily had to make notable concessions to attract Muslim co-operation.

On December 23, 1939, the Viceroy wrote to Jinnah: "I can assure you that His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community."

On March 23, 1940, the Muslim League at Lahore passed its famous resolution, which later was given the name, the Pakistan Resolution, demanding that Muslim majority areas in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India be grouped to constitute an Independent State.

That such aspirations were no longer an idle dream was confirmed before long by a declaration by the Viceroy on August 8, 1940, in the course of which he said, "The Government could not contemplate the transfer of its responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government the authority of which was denied by large or powerful elements in India's national life, nor could it be a party to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a system."

An even stronger glimmer of Pakistan was clearly visible in the Cripps Declaration of March 1942, which offered Dominion Status to an Indian Union at the conclusion of the war but made provision for the right of non-accession by such provinces as may wish to stay out.

The bias of the proposals was, however, in favour of one India but, the Congress insisted upon an immediate transfer of power.

Perhaps the last time when the conception of a united India could have been salvaged from the continuing political storm was when the Cabinet Mission came to India in March 1946, to help India attain her freedom as speedily as possible.

During the war, as we have seen, the position of the League had been greatly strengthened by the British policies to offset the Congress rebellion and by the Congress itself, through courting imprisonment and leaving the field clear to the Muslim League.

But the war was now over and the Congress was again actively occupying the field. The British for their part, had always allotted the pride of place amongst their achievements in India to having created a feeling of common nationalism in a much divided land. Checkmating the Congress in an emergency was, therefore, one thing; destroying the most attractive monument of their rule, after the crisis was over, was quite another. Moreover, the seat of power in Britain was no longer occupied by the arch-imperialist Churchill; the Prime Minister now was the Labourite, Clement Attlee flanked by Pethick-Lawrence and Stafford Cripps, all good friends of the Congress leaders.

After the perennial lack of agreement between the Indians themselves had once more manifested itself, the Cabinet Mission put forward its own proposals. The idea of Pakistan was clearly rejected on the main grounds that such a country would be difficult to defend besides being weak economically. There would be a Union of India but, to allay Muslim fears, provision was made for a province to come out of any of the three sections in which it was initially grouped and also to reconsider the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten yearly intervals thereafter.

Both the Congress and the Muslim League at first accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan. However, the opportunity once more, was decisively torpedoed by Mr. Jawarharlal Nehru. At a Press statement on July 10, at Bombay he asserted that the Congress would be entirely and absolutely free to determine what it did in the Constituent Assembly. "We have committed ourselves on no single matter to anybody."

"It was a compromise plan", comments Leonard Mosely, "which

obviously could not afterwards be altered in favour of one side or another. In the circumstances, Nehru's remarks were a direct act of sabotage."

Unable to find a way out of the never-ending labyrinth by negotiation, Prime Minister Attlee, on February 20, served notice that it was the definite intention of the British Government to effect the transference of power to Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948.

Attlee, at the same time, announced that Lord Mountbatten would replace Lord Wavell as Viceroy and preside over the crucial proceedings that lay immediately ahead.

In his directive to Mountbatten the Prime Minister stated: "It is the definite objective of His Majesty's Government to obtain a unitary government for British India and the Indian states, if possible, within the British Commonwealth, through the medium of a Constituent Assembly set up and run in accordance with the Cabinet Mission Plan and you should do the utmost in your power to persuade all parties to work together to this end."

Mountbatten made no secret of the fact then and has openly reaffirmed it on numerous occasions since that he too was strongly in favour of preserving Indian unity. His first concern, on arrival in India, therefore, was to get Indian leaders to agree to one India. When he failed to achieve this result, he fell back on the alternative of giving power to individual provinces. It was only when Congress leadership was confronted with the dismal prospects of seeing India shattered into many pieces that it agreed to the comparatively less objectionable plan of setting up two independent countries.

Jinnah had fought a long and hard battle against what at times seemed hopeless odds. When he was ascending the steps of the Governor-General's House at Karachi in August 1947, he remarked to an aide, "Do you know, I never expected to see Pakistan in my lifetime. We have to be very grateful to God for what we have achieved."

His frail and worn-out structure could survive his triumph by only one year. On September 11, 1948 he passed away in the same city of Karachi where he was born on December 25, 1876.

"There was nothing in him of the subtle flexibility of intellect which seems to the Englishman the characteristic of the Hindu", wrote "The Times", London. "All his ideas were diamond-hard, clear cut, almost tangible. His arguments had none of the sinuosity of Hindu reasoning, they were directed dagger-like to the single point he was attacking."

"Pakistan", commented D.F. Karaka, "is a triumph which the Quaid-i-Azam achieved single-handed. One had to concede him his achievement, however much one differed from his politics and his ideology. It is not a small thing that he combined in himself all the responsibilities which his

rival party, the Congress, distributed and decentralised to the galaxy of talent which was at their disposal.

"When the British made any proposal, the Congress had a wealth of talent at their beck and call which gave whatever expert opinion it needed on every conceivable subject. But Jinnah was his own financial genius, his own expert on politics, on partition issues, on economics, on industry, and on the manifold problems of State. He was Pakistan himself. He was its life-blood. He was its heart and brain."

"None could fail to recognise Mr. Jinnah's greatness", summed up "The Statesman", New Delhi. "Seeming as hard as a diamond he had all the diamond's brilliance."

Calling him a Master of Tactics, the "Economist" stated that "this perfect poker player never overbid his hand. He always waited for his opponents to make a mistake, and then he would coolly raise demands one up of the last bid."

Dawn, Karachi, December 25, 1968.

THE UNIVERSALLY ADMIRED QUAID

by Hector Bolitho

THE distance and tranquillity of history seem to fall on Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the creator of Pakistan.

His life was an argument — a splendid argument — for a great cause; and it was prophetic that there was argument even about the day of his birth. In his school, the Sind Madrasah, in Karachi, the date is given as October 20, 1875. But Jinnah always said it was on Christmas Day in 1876 that he was born.

The span of his life was the span of official British power in India. He was seven days old when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Kaiser-i-Hind. He lived to negotiate with the Queen's great-grandson for the partition of the vast subcontinent and its freedom from British rule.

Twenty one years have passed since I first arrived, by ship, in Karachi to write the official biography of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. So there is a touch of history also for me, as I look back to those days — quite a long time ago.

I kept a diary, which I began before I left London, and it is interesting now to read it, and to see how Jinnah's personality and character slowly came alive for me. On December 4, 1951, I lunched with the Pakistan High Commissioner in London and he said to me, "Jinnah gave up everything to devote himself to the cause of the Muslims". That was the first piece of evidence in what was to be a long task.

On the ship going out to Karachi there was one very important passenger; a young Pakistani, Mazhar Ahmed, who had been Naval A.D.C. to Jinnah. I met him by accident. He gave me the next impression of the man I was to write about. He said, "The Quaid died like a Shakespearean character, who when he turns the knife in his own breast, declared

dramatically 'I die'. I was with him at the end, when he said to me, 'My work is finished. I die'."

Then, a closer look. Mazhar said, "Jinnah was rationally but not emotionally kind. One day an old Pathan chieftain advanced towards him and held out his hand. Jinnah said, 'If I shake hands with you, I will have to shake hands with all the people here. And for this there is not time'."

Mazhar said, "He was a cold, celibate man, with all his passions in his mind". Then he added, "I became very fond of him."

Slowly, Jinnah became real to me. But it was not until I talked to Fatima Bai, who was related to him and knew him when he was a child, that I began to know the great man I was to write about. She said of him, "He was a good boy; a clever boy. We lived, eight of us, in two rooms on the first floor of the house in Newnham Road. At night, when the children were sleeping, Jinnah would stand a sheet of cardboard against the oil lamp, to shield the eyes of the children from the light. Then he would read and read. One night I went to him and said, 'You will make yourself ill from so much study', and he answered, 'Bai, you know I cannot achieve anything in life unless I work hard'."

Jinnah became still more real to me when a smiling old Muslim named Nanji Jafar came into the room where I was talking to Fatima Bai, and said that he remembered Jinnah as a boy and that he had played marbles with him in the street. He repeated this several times, so that I became curious for more information.

I asked the old man to close his eyes and try to recall the colour of the marbles. My experiment worked. He closed his eyes and dug deeper into his memory; then he said, "Yes, we played marbles in the street. And one day Jinnah came to us — he was then about fourteen — and he said, 'Don't play marbles in the dust; it spoils your clothes and dirties your hands. We must stand up and play cricket!".

That story gave me all the key to Jinnah's character, for he always stood up from the dust. He was withdrawn from life, in a sense. As some one said, "He was sorry for the poor — he said of them, 'You must be saved' — but he did not wish them to come and thank him. The emotion of gratitude was repulsive to him."

One slowly saw the Quaid as different from any other leader in the story of the subcontinent. What had begun as a task for me became a work of dedication. There were many difficulties in Karachi; broken promises, delays and absolute frustration. But, on my desk, I had a photograph of Jinnah in a frame. As I sat in my room in the Metropole Hotel, I just stared at that photograph and almost prayed to it. It strengthened me and

calmed me in a curious way.

Sometimes, there develops, between the biographer and the man he is writing about, a mysterious relationship which is utterly honest, sympathetic and enlightening. I came to feel this with Jinnah; and even today, twenty one years after my book was published, I enjoy this nearness to him at times. I appreciate his aristocratic aloofness; his inability to stoop towards his followers, and his absolute privacy.

Only rarely, his defences broke down. Then he must have been delightful. "Sonny" Habibullah told me a story one day, of Jinnah's meeting with his brother Ibrahim. It was at the time of the Spanish Civil War, and they were both on the platform at some meeting, with Pandit Nehru. Afterwards, when Jinnah and Ibrahim Habibullah were alone, Jinnah said to him, "Don't you think that Nehru was talking nonsense?"

Ibrahim Habibullah answered, "No, I agree with his views".

Jinnah said: "The laws of the jungle must always prevail. Unless you believe that you are a madcap".

Habibullah said: "We call ourselves human beings because we have emancipated ourselves from the jungle. If you do not appreciate that, then, Sir, it is you who are the madcap."

Jinnah was delighted to be "stood up to", and he said: "Oh, I need men like you. Come and join me".

Then there was the nice story told me by Mohammad Noman, who was clever at impersonating the Quaid's voice and mannerisms. Jinnah heard of this, sent for Noman one day, and said, "I hear that you mimic me with great skill. Show me how you do it". Noman did his shy best with his imitation of the great man. When he finished, Jinnah said, "Very good, but these will help you". He handed Noman both his astrakhan hat and his monocle.

I read back over what I have written and realise that it is all of Jinnah in Pakistan. Let us consider him beyond his home confines and enjoy his greatness in the thoughts of people who were not Pakistanis.

One evening I dined in Bombay with Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, in his fabulous mansion. He was one of the most civilized men I have ever met, with a collection of pictures and sculptures, so beautiful that I remember them one by one. When he had shown us his treasures, we went into a comfortable room and he talked of Jinnah.

He said: "I knew him as far back as 1901. He was poor then, but his clothes already had distinction. He was a member of the Orient Club and I used to see him there. He had four years of struggle before him without briefs. He would never do an unjust thing.

"He was no lawyer; he had no university education and he had to be briefed for a case with great care. But he was a brilliant advocate.

"He was what God made him, not what he made himself. God made him a clear thinker and a brilliant advocate. He could see around corners with his sixth sense. . . . He was all logic and no magic. He never made an oration: he drove in his point with slow delivery, word by word. All pure, cold logic".

I asked Sir Cowasjee Jehangir; "Did you just admire Jinnah, or did you also like him?"

He answered; "Yes, I was fond of him. Genuinely fond of him, because of his sense of justice and because, with all the differences of political life, he was never malicious".

Then come to England, from which you are severed by your own choice. I have never met a British soldier or statesman who had served in the subcontinent and did not respect Jinnah. Men like Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck speak of him still with the utmost affection. And, let it be remembered, we have put a plaque on the house in which he lived in London as a student, to remind passers-by of his greatness.

OUR QUAID-I-AZAM

by M. A. H. Ispahani

QUAID-I-AZAM was our leader who through his God-gifted acumen, brilliance, perseverance and determination, carved out a homeland for the Muslims in the subcontinent and wrenched freedom from the unwilling hands of the Hindus and the British.

What sort of an individual was Mohammed Ali Jinnah, besides being incorruptible, well-mannered, a brilliant speaker, a distinguished lawyer and a great statesman, who fought against the pitched strength of very powerful opponents? I shall discuss some of his traits which made him great among men.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, intoxicated with the rapid progress of the Congress Movement in the subcontinent and confident of resounding victories at the polls which were to be held in the early months of 1937, once, as a result of emotion or deliberate intent, boasted: "There are only two parties in the country—the Congress and the British; others must line up." At that time, the Muslim League was rubbing its eyes after a long period of slumber. It had decided to go to the masses and to convert the movement from one of the armchair to that of the people. As its spokesman and as its outstanding brain, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the President, with equal confidence, retorted: "No, there is a third party — namely, the Musalmans. We shall not be dictated to by anyone. I refuse to line up. We shall not be the camp followers of any party". And to this line he tenaciously adhered with the passage of time. Each month demonstrated in increasing measure that partition, as he advocated it, was the only cure for the ills of our subcontinent when the British left.

The Quaid-i-Azam as I knew him, was not an emotional being nor

did he exhibit much sentiment. He was a calm, cool, restrained and realistic man. These are the qualities that go to make a great political leader. His usual reply to important questions put to him was, at most times: "Now let me think it over" or "Let me resolve this matter in my mind". He did not believe in taking decision in haste and repenting at leisure, but once he took a decision, he stood by it like a rock. His decisions were not blown away like so many leaves in an autumnal storm. I remember the decision of the League Working Committee, principally guided by him, to accept the Cabinet Mission's final "take it *in toto* or leave it" proposal in 1946. After the decision, he slept like a care-free child: "After," to quote his own words, "weeks of tossing in bed through sleeplessness because of the heavy responsibility placed on my shoulders I woke up as fresh as a daisy to send off my letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence". As the day advanced, questions began to assail his mind. Did he do right? Was the decision right for the Muslim nation? These questions exercised his mind. Before long, he began to feel somewhat uneasy but he stood by the letter without creating any sort of an excuse to find a way out of the League's acceptance. He waited and hoped that the Congress would take a false step or two and provide him with a wide-open gate to enable the League to return to its original stand on sovereign Pakistan. News came through that the Congress had not unreservedly accepted the Plan. The blame for its failure would now fall on the Congress, and the League would be able to extricate itself from a difficult situation.

The Congress leaders from Mr. Gandhi downwards began to twist and misinterpret the Plan, particularly the provision relating to the grouping of provinces. The Congress Working Committee contended that "the respective provinces shall make their choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed". The Congress Premier of Assam, Mr. Bardoloi, was encouraged by Mr. Gandhi to refuse to join Section C from the very beginning and get a resolution passed by the Assam Legislative Assembly giving a mandate to its members to have nothing to do with the C Group of provinces. This was clearly in contravention of the provisions of the Plan and the authoritative clarification given by the Cabinet Mission itself. Many Indian Leaders and writers later criticised the unreasonable attitude of the Congress. I shall quote the remarks made by the distinguished Hindu liberal leader, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad: "The Cabinet Mission's scheme had been killed by the wobbling and vacillating attitude of one party, the Congress. . . . The cherished boon of a united India had fallen into their lap but they, by their own want of political wisdom, threw it out and placed it beyond their reach". Thereafter, there was no question of a

United India or a quasi-united India. The stand was one for the creation of Pakistan and Pakistan did come some months later, as a result of the Congress leaders' intransigence and arrogance, and the statesmanship and determination of our great leader.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah was more far-sighted than any of his contemporaries. Allah had granted him a gift of enviable vision. He saw coming events better than others, although he did not attribute this quality to anything but experience and study of political forces and events. In 1942, when the Congress revolted and its leadership went to jail, it was Mohammed Ali Jinnah who, in spite of the heavy pressure put upon him by a number of the Working Committee members to follow the Congress, steered clear of this catastrophe by keeping the Muslims out of it. The Muslim League organised itself further and was ready to meet the increased challenges of the Congress in later years. Again, I remember him telling me about the grave error of judgment the Sikh leadership was making in falling a victim to the blandishments of the Hindus and Congress and deciding to throw in their lot with them. I remember what he said to me, as if the utterance was made yesterday: He said: "The time will come, and that time will not be too far away, when the Sikhs will regret the steps they have taken and for the opposition they have put up against Pakistan. They are applying the axe to their own shins, but when they awaken to this realisation it will be to too late". What he foresaw did actually come to pass. After all the billing, cooing, and caressing to win the Sikhs over, when freedom came to India, it was entirely for the benefit of the Hindu majority and the Sikhs were left high and dry.

It was Jinnah who forcefully proclaimed that the Muslims are a nation. Undoubtedly, some others too before him had spoken of it, for instance, Jamaluddin Afghani in the 19th century, Iqbal as early as 1930 and Choudhri Rehmat Ali, an under-graduate of Cambridge, about the time of the Round Table Conference. But it was Jinnah and Jinnah alone who translated what was a mere idea and slogan into a palpable political reality. It was Jinnah who gave mere words form, shape and meaning. It was he who, through his sincerity, dogged determination and persistent hard work, knitted the Muslims of the subcontinent into a solid impregnable and invincible force. The Congress and Mr. Gandhi's efforts in the late 1930's and onwards to divide the Muslims, to lower the prestige of the All India Muslim League, to cause serious rifts in the League Camp, were accelerated ten-fold. As these efforts on the part of Hindu leadership were intensified, the Muslim masses began increasingly to swing towards Jinnah's leadership, which frustrated the designs of the opposition and brought the Muslim rank and

file, except a handful of Congress stooges, under the banner of the Muslim League. With the unflinching support of the Muslim masses, he eventually wrested a homeland out of the unwilling hands of the British and, of course, the majority community in the subcontinent.

Yes, Jinnah was a man endowed with iron determination and will-power, and was always ready to face and meet opposition squarely and cleanly whenever and wherever it raised its head. He fought with clean weapons and even his opponents never doubted his honesty.

Another great quality of the Quaid was that when he trusted one, he would go all the way with him. Those who had the good fortune to be trusted and were worthy of such trust, through their proven loyalty over the years, were close to him.

I cannot over-emphasise, particularly at a time like the present, when the world as a whole is suffering from a crisis of morals, how immaculately clean Mohammed Ali Jinnah was in his political and private life. When he gave his word, it was as good as his bond. No circumstances would make him waver. When he changed his political or policy course, there was always an understandable and simple explanation for it. His reasons were sound and unchallengeable. He abhorred underhand tactics, even if such intrigues would bring him the world as a reward. If he said something or promised something, one could be confident that he would fulfil his promise, if not promptly, then within a reasonable time.

If a person betrayed his confidence, whatever his personal relationship with the betrayer, he would not hesitate to take corrective and exemplary action, however much it pained him. In support of this statement, I can cite the case of the removal of a member of the Working Committee, a member who was throughout loyal to the League and close to the Quaid. When it was established beyond reasonable doubt that he was the person who was leaking information on the secret deliberations of the Working Committee to the Press outside, the Quaid did not hesitate to take action against him.

Jinnah was not only not corrupt, but was also incorruptible. Many attempts were made through his long political career to win him over. The British offered him Knighthood and Governorship, the Congress offered him leadership and placed at his feet Prime Ministership of United India. If he had danced to their tune, he could have got all the wealth and position that any human being wished for. But he was not a saleable commodity, and, if he had been one, the lives and history of the Muslims of the subcontinent would have been written differently. There was no room for treachery or filth in his politics.

He preferred defeat to the purchase of votes for gaining victory.

He not only practised this moral code himself but insisted that his followers should also do so. He once said in connection with Sind politics when he made available funds to ensure a Muslim League Government in the Province: "Remember, no bribery with this money. I prefer defeat to dishonesty."

A sterling and admirable trait of my hero, which I shall not tire in repeating, was that he practised what he preached. If he said corruption must be wiped out, he made a serious effort to do so and, of course, he himself never resorted to any corrupt practice, however great the temptation might be. He believed in adopting right means for the attainment of right ends.

When he said women should be emancipated and should take a more active part in political and social activities, he meant every word that he uttered. When he spoke from the platform, he called upon the Muslim women to participate in our freedom struggle. He got the Muslim League to appoint a special women's committee to spread the League's message among women. His sister was almost always on the dais and she was encouraged to carry out what he preached in public. In this connection I cannot refrain from quoting his memorable speech at Aligarh, on March 10, 1944. He said:

"Another very important matter which I wish to impress on you is that no nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of custom. It is crime against humanity that our women are shut up within four walls of their houses as prisoners. I do not mean that we should imitate the evils of Western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women according to our Islamic ideas and standards. You cannot expect a woman who is herself ignorant to bring up her children properly. Women has the power to bring up children on right lines. Let us not throw away this asset."

Another principle he followed was one of "waste not, want not". He preached this and practised it religiously even when he was Head of State. He had no lights on when he had no need for them, whether in his own home, as a guest elsewhere or even in the Governor-General's House.

He was cool, calm and composed at all times. Even when irritated he controlled his temper and his tongue and insisted that those in politics or public life should so behave.

HE NEVER WAVERED, NEVER FALTERED

by Hashim Raza

FOR the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, December 25, assumed a special significance in the year 1876 when their great leader Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah was born in a small apartment on Newnham Road, Kharadar, in Karachi.

My thoughts go back to the year 1906, for in that year the All-India Muslim League was formed in the city of Dacca with His Highness the Aga Khan III as its President.

It was the good fortune of the All-India Muslim League that for three decades Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah guided its deliberations, moulded its policies and made it strong enough to fight the British Government and the overwhelming Hindu majority at the same time.

It was coincidence that the first and the last Presidents of the All-India Muslim League — the Aga Khan III and Jinnah were both born in the City of Karachi. The Aga Khan survived the Quaid-i-Azam and paid him one of the finest tributes which one great man has paid to another. The Aga Khan writes in his Memoirs:

"The Quaid-i-Azam's brilliant and epoch-making career, so untimely ended, reached its summit in those momentous years, 1946-47. Now he belongs to history and his momory, I am certain is imperishable. Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life—Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mussolini, Mahatma Gandhi — Jinnah is the most remarkable. None of these men, in my view, outshone him in strength of character and in that almost uncanny combination of prescience and resolution which is statecraft."

The Aga Khan had a very wide circle of friends in three Continents—

Europe, Asia and Africa. In England he enjoyed a prestige which many English statesmen must have envied. He was, I believe, the only Asian to be elected President of the League of Nations before it became the League of Resignations. I did not have the good fortune of meeting any of the politicians mentioned by the Aga Khan except Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

It is difficult to think of two politicians who were so different in their appearance and outlook as the Leader of the Indian Muslims, Jinnah, and the Leader of the Indian Hindus, Gandhi. The only things common between them were that their ancestors came from Kathiawar, they completed their education in England, both were called to the Bar and both had a burning zeal to free their country from the foreign yoke. There the similarity ends.

Gandhi was a visionary who talked frequently of inner voices; Jinnah was a very practical, down-to-earth, politician. Gandhi worked for the ascendancy of the Hindus. Jinnah was called the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity by Hindu Leaders.

Gandhi relied on unconstitutional methods to achieve India's independence; Jinnah endeavoured to break the British power by constitutional methods. Gandhi never joined any Legislative Assembly; Jinnah was a distinguished legislator for nearly 35 years. Gandhi courted the people by dressing as a peasant; Jinnah had no mind for popularity. He was always immaculately dressed.

When India got into the vortex of the First World War, the Viceroy invited the Indian leaders to a War Conference at Delhi and both the leaders were among the invitees to the Conference. Gandhi supported the war efforts of the Government of India enthusiastically. He wrote in answer to the Viceroy's invitation: "I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment".

In another letter which he wrote to the Viceroy informing him that he would attend the conference, he gave the reason for his decision in the following words:

"If for no other reason then certainly out of my regard for yourself (the Viceroy)....I write this, because I love the English nation, and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty of the Englishman."

In the War Conference which was held in Delhi in April 1918, Jinnah moved a resolution on constitutional reforms which made participation in the War effort of the British conditional on assurances for conceding home rule to India. His resolution was ruled out of order. He opposed the Rowlatt Bill of the Government of India tooth and nail. In a speech in the Imperial Council he condemned this measure as retrograde and said:

"My first ground is this that it is against the fundamental principles of law and justice, namely that no man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty, without a judicial trial in accordance with the accepted rules of evidence and procedure. . . . My third ground is that the powers which are going to be assumed by the executive, which means substitution of exceutive for judicial, such powers are likely to be abused, and in the past we have instances where such powers have been abused. My fourth ground is that there is no precedent or parallel that I know of, in any other civilized country, where you have laws of this character enacted."

Since the Imperial Council had a preponderance of the nominated members who supported the Government on all matters, the Rowlatt Bill was passed. As a protest against the passing of this Bill Jinnah resigned his membership of the Imperial Council and wrote to the Viceroy:

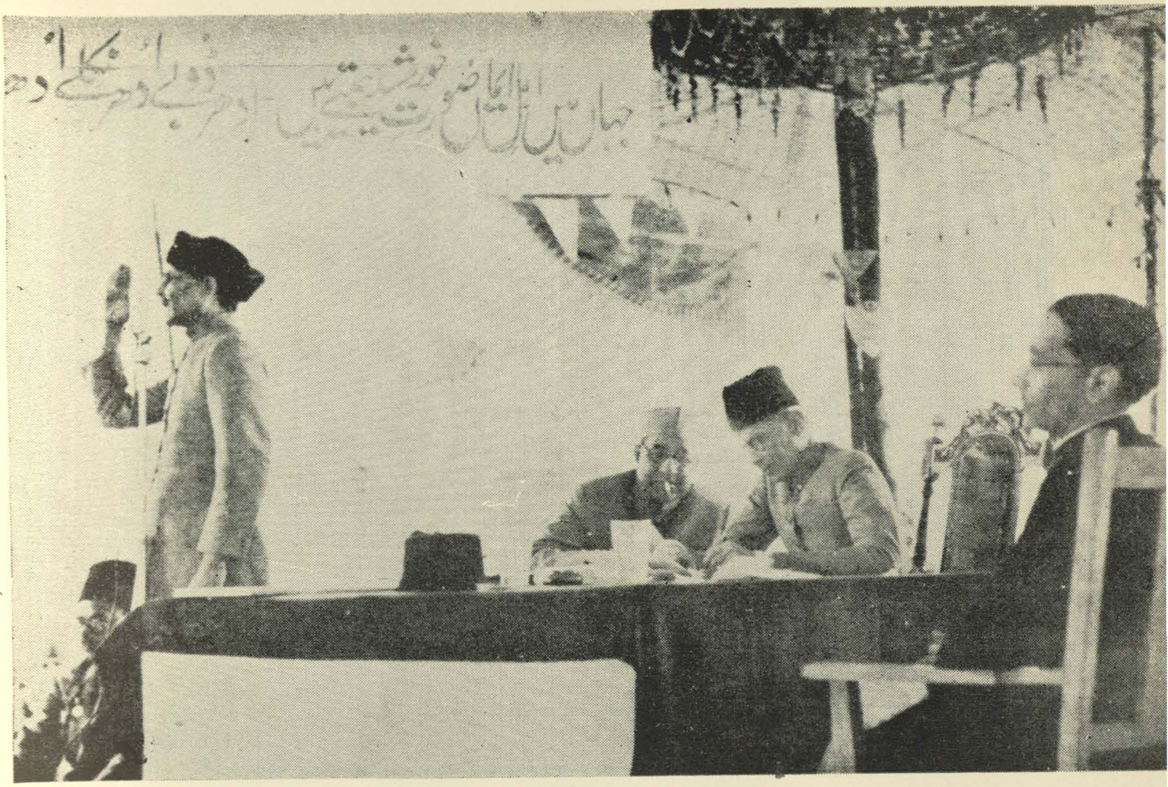
"I feel that under the prevailing conditions I can be of no use to my people in the Council nor consistently with one's self-respect possibly co-operate with a Government that shows such utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in the Council Chamber, and for the feelings and sentiments of the people outside."

Jinnah was among the first to join the Home Rule League. He was immediately elected President of the Bombay Branch of the Home Rule League. There was a time when he was a member of the Congress, of the Home Rule League and of the Muslim League simultaneously. He resigned from the Home Rule League in 1920 when Gandhi got control of the Home Rule League and got its constitution changed unconstitutionally.

The new constitution permitted unconstitutional and illegal activities. Jinnah parted with the Congress after the creed of the Congress was changed at the Nagpur Session, in December 1920, at the instance of Gandhi from "bringing about by constitutional means a steady reform of the existing system of administration" to "the attainment of 'Swaraj' (self-government) by all legitimate and peaceful means."

Jinnah's point was that by changing the creed of the Congress, the goal of national unity was relegated to the background although it was the foremost need of the hour. Gandhi became the prime-mover of the Congress, the Khilafat and the Home Rule Movements. His weapon was non-violent non-cooperation. His movement turned into rank violence on several occasions.

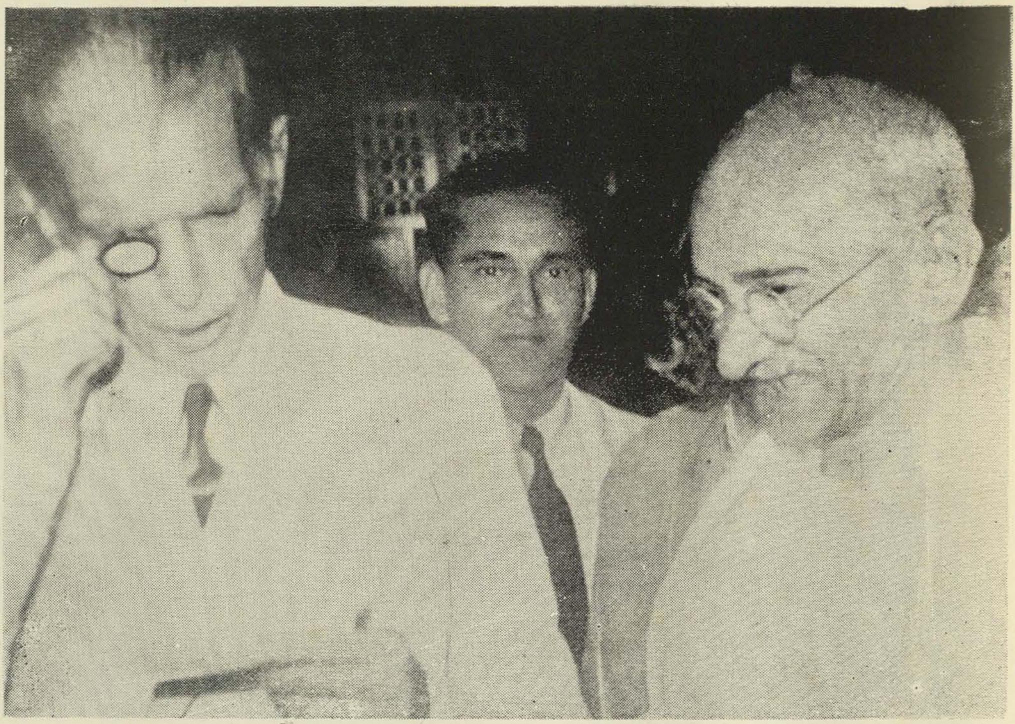
After the incident in which an infuriated mob burnt a Police Station along with the Indian Policemen in Gorakhpur District, Gandhi remarked that "a Himalayan blunder" had been committed. Gandhi's call to boycott the arrival of the then Prince of Wales (now Duke of Windsor) in November



Quaid-i-Azam presiding over Pakistan Resolution Session of the All India Muslim League at Lahore, March 23, 1940.

A group photograph of "Dawn's" Deihi promoters and members of the staff with Quaid-i-Azam who is seen sitting in the fifth seat from right. On his right is Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and on his left, Editor Dawn Mr. Pothan Joseph.





Quaid-i-Azam during his discussion with M.K. Gandhi in September 1944.

Lord Wavell greets Quaid-i-Azam when the latter arrived for discussions with the Cabinet Mission on March 22, 1946.



1921, led to in violent disturbances in the city of Bombay, resulting in the death of 53 persons and the wounding of over 300 persons. Gandhi went round the city and when he saw blood in the streets of Bombay he said, "Swaraj stinks in my nostrils".

Jinnah never changed his method of attaining independence from foreign rule. He advocated Swaraj through Hindu-Muslim unity. The great Indian Leader, Gokhale, predicted about him in the very early years of his political life: "He has true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity."

When the Sheriff of Bombay, under police protection, moved a resolution, appreciating the services of Lord Willingdon as retiring Governor of Bombay Province, and in his anxiety to leave the Hall before facing the opposition, declared the proposition carried without even a seconder, Jinnah protested along with his many supporters in the Hall. At the shouts of protest, the Police started assaulting those who were opposing the resolution and the Quaid-i-Azam was one of those who were assaulted.

Jinnah held subsequently another meeting in which a resolution was unanimously passed protesting against the conduct of the Sheriff of Bombay and against his behaviour in refusing his opponents to address the Town Hall meeting. The resolution passed strictures against the Police and concluded with the words, "This meeting of the citizens of Bombay condemns the administration of Lord Willingdon and protests against the proposal to raise any sort of memorial to Lord Willingdon for his services".

Syed Hussain, while supporting the resultion, described Jinnah as an embodiment of the spirit of the citizens of Bombay of whom not only his city but the whole of India was proud.

To commemorate the triumph of the man in the street against bureaucracy, the grateful people of Bombay built a Memorial Hall in his honour called Jinnah Hall. The opening ceremony of this Hall was performed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who eulogised Jinnah's services in her inimitable speech. After this ceremony she sent a cable to Jinnah which read, "A prophet is honoured in his time". Pakistan became inevitable when the accord between Muslims and Hindus became impossible. When Beverley Nichols asked the Quaid-i-Azam how he would describe the principles on which the demand for Pakistan was based, he replied, "In five words, — the Muslims are a nation". He added, "The one thing which keeps the British in India is the false idea of a United India, as preached by Gandhi. A United India, I repeat is a British creation — a myth ......which will cause endless strife.

As long as that strife exists, the British have an excuse for remaining. For once in a way 'divide and rule' does not apply."

Even after the Congress had officially accepted the division of the country as a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problems, Gandhi had remarked that India could be divided only over his dead body. When the division of India took place in 1947, he was still alive. He preached non-violence throughout his life and his life came to a sudden end because of an assassin's bullet.

Throughout his political career, the Quaid-i-Azam followed a consistent course. He was so sure of the success of his mission that he never wavered in the course which he had adopted. With majestic steps and followed by millions and millions of his countrymen, he marched to the goal of Pakistan.

REMINISCENCES OF THE QUAID

by Mir Laik Ali

IT was towards the end of 1938. A friend of mine and I were on our way to Bombay from Hyderabad (Deccan) by the Evening Express. We arrived a quarter of an hour before the departure time of the train at the small but exclusive Begumpet Railway Station where the train stopped for a few minutes only to pick up some reserved class passengers. We noticed a score of people gathered near the end of the platform, most of whom we knew. We learnt that Mr. Jinnah, who had come to Hyderabad to conduct some important legal case, was on his way back to Bombay, and these people were to bid him farewell. A little later, Mr. Jinnah stepped out from a luxurious limousine with his sister and smilingly greeted all those who had come to see him off. A friend introduced us to him, saying that we were also travelling to Bombay by the same train. "Nice to meet you", he said smilingly and warmly shook hands.

We got into our compartment. At the next halt my friend and I decided to visit him in his compartment, so we walked up and knocked at his door. He half opened the window and abruptly asked us what he could do for us. We were taken aback. I managed to say that we just wanted to pay our respects to him. "Nice of you", he said and extended his hand out for a shake and then closed the window.

Very embarrassed we returned to our compartment. My friend retorted, it had served me well. I said I would never dare approach him again. Nor would he, said my friend. It took us some time to get over our embarrassment.

It was not long after that I happened to be at Secunderabad Railway Station for journey on a Delhi-bound Express. I saw the tall figure of

Mr. Jinnah standing in front of a compartment next door to the one in which I was booked. He was surrounded by a dozen or more people. I could not avoid getting close to him to enter into my own compartment. When he saw me, he extended his hand. "How are you", he said. This was an unexpected gesture for me and I politely thanked him and asked about his own health. "Are you going to Delhi too?", he asked. "No", said I, "but I would be on the train for a part of the journey". "Come in my compartment and have a chat for a while", he said. I was a little surprised, but thanked him and said I would be glad to do so.

Before the departure of the train I hesitantly joined him. I had not forgotten my previous experience and was wondering what sort of time I was going to have.

Soon after the train moved he pulled out his cigarette case and offered me one. He then started conversing as if he had known me for years. He said he knew all about me and was looking forward to meeting and talking to me. We then talked and talked on several subjects but not a minute was wasted on any light or casual topic. He would ask my views about a certain matter. After I had said what I had to, he would elaborate the theme and like an eager student I just listened.

We had spent almost three hours together and it was nearing midnight. I suggested he should retire now. He agreed but added he would like to see more of me and asked me to get in touch with him when I visit Bombay next time. I promised to do so and we bade good night to each other.

I have dilated over these comparatively minor incidents to show the general disposition of the man. He had little time for elaborate courtesies and random conversation, but if it came to any definite purpose, no time of day or night made any difference and no amount of personal inconvenience or strain mattered. My very first conversation with him gave a definite turn to my own line of thinking. Several matters in life which had casual or academic values before, now lay before me as more worthy objectives. Yet others, over which I had concentrated a great deal before, now took a secondary place or appeared insignificant. Subsequently my meetings with him were more frequent both at Bombay and other places. Each meeting had a profound effect on my thinking and invariably resulted in some concrete step forward.

I would not be fair to Mr. Jinnah or to myself if I present him as an idol or a superhuman being. Far from it. Despite the difference in age and stature he never allowed me to develop a feeling that I was a mere follower. He established an atmosphere almost of equality in our conversations and gave

fullest regard and heed to any views I expressed or any suggestion I made. There were a number of instances when I differed with him but on various occasions, after thorough reasoning, he accepted my views.

Just before the Second World War started, I had returned from Europe after an extensive tour of several capitals, including Berlin, in connection with my business and industrial affairs. I had many well-placed acquaintances in most countries and told Mr. Jinnah that there was greater war fever in U.K. and France and to my amazement in Switzerland than what I had noticed in Germany. I also argued that the amazing transformation which I had seen in Germany after the advent of Nazism had convinced me that the leaders of that country would not launch a "World War" and expose all their gains to devastation. He, on the other hand, felt certain that Nazism would not be tolerated by the Allies and even if Germany did not want war, it would be forced on her. He then almost exactly outlined the events that were to follow.

The Second World War started and the Allies were having a difficult time. France had capitulated and it was not certain how long Britain was going to hold out. The USA had later joined the war. Japan's entry into the conflagration appeared imminent. All the material resources of India were geared up for the war. I asked Mr. Jinnah if it would not be in the interest of India to restrict her war efforts and what should be the attitude of the Muslims. He then asked me who were the people who were financially benefiting from the war efforts. I had to admit that they were almost all Hindus and the only share Muslims were having then was by enlisting in the Army and exposing their lives for the money they were paid. He then directed me not to lag behind and to induce as many Muslims as possible to claim their share in the financial boom. Hindus, he said, would be happy to see all the Muslims financially ruined if the Muslims were foolish enough to take any false step. He said despite all the slogans and loud talk, the Hindus would snatch every penny available from the British or for that matter from any one else.

By now the Muslim League had passed the Pakistan Resolution at Lahore. I had not participated in any of the League's political activities but Mr. Jinnah would take me into confidence in many of the problems. On more than one occasion we discussed the Pakistan Plan as it might take shape and what would happen to the rest of the Muslims and the Muslims States, particularly the State of Hyderabad.

My own concept of Pakistan was very confused. Indeed, during the course of our conversations, my apprehensions and the difficulties I visualised

in its implementation were not altogether clarified by Mr. Jinnah. I had an impression that at that stage Mr. Jinnah felt that I was getting lost in too many details and was losing sight of the essentials. At one stage I was even told that all the difficulties which I was foreseeing would have to be resolved in course of time by younger people like myself. Despite my misgivings, he had sufficiently kindled the zeal for Pakistan in me to wholeheartedly support the movement and to work for it.

In the beginning I had an impression that the economic and financial problems involved in the establishment of a new State with a poor population were not receiving sufficient consideration from Mr. Jinnah. As time passed, I realised that these problems weighed no less with him than the political problems. At times for hours together he would discuss the financial and economic aspects in such detail that I was left completely amazed.

In one of our conversations I suggested to Mr. Jinnah that conventional and capitalistic type of development would result in very slow progress of a backward country like Pakistan and some radically State-controlled economy could arouse the masses and ensure rapid developments. He asked me to repeat what I had said and elaborate what I meant. I explained that I was not exactly a socialist and much less a Communist but, if it really came to building up an ideological Islamic State, I for one would be happy to give away all my worldly belongings and come down to the earth and work like a common man. As usual, he was immaculately dressed and at the moment was wearing a beautifully tailored expensive suit. As I spoke, with a faint smile I looked at his dress and the most tasteful and elaborate setting of the room we were sitting in. He gazed in my eyes and in his typical fashion lifted his finger and said. "Laik Ali, you don't need to apprehend that I can't come down to simpler living—my own life will be even simpler than what you can imagine."

One day he telephoned me from Bombay and asked me to meet him in Bombay before the week-end or at Delhi, any day during the following week. I had no plans at the time to visit either Bombay or Delhi, so I thought the journey to Bombay would be more convenient than travelling all the way to Delhi. When I said I would meet him in Bombay, he paused for a moment and then said he would prefer to meet me at Delhi if I could conveniently manage. Of course, there was no question of convenience when Mr. Jinnah wanted a thing, and I agreed to see him at Delhi. When I met him at Delhi, apparently the Nawab of Bhopal had just left him. He asked me if I knew him and what I thought of him. I said I had not known him personally and frankly had no occasion to think about him in any serious way. He observed that Bhopal was a Muslim state and I should take more interest in the

future of its affairs, despite my preoccupations. He then said that the Nawab was anxious to develop the resources of his state and I should do what I could to help him. I told Mr. Jinnah that while I would be happy to serve the Nawab by way of advice or assist him in any particular sphere or specific problem, it would be difficult to offer my services in a general way to develop the resources of that state. After some discussion I agreed to visit Bhopal on my way back and meet the Nawab Sahib.

After my first talk with the Nawab of Bhopal I sent a team of engineers and technicians to survey and design a couple of small hydro-electric and irrigation projects and to draw plans for one or two industrial schemes by utilising chiefly the forest products. I was assured that all the expenses would be borne by the state. The work took almost a year involving four or five visits by me and considerable expense. During each visit I was extended great deal of courtesy and generous hospitality but there was little prospect of implementation of any of the projects. We were spending considerable amounts on the work. When I reported the situation to Mr. Jinnah, he thought for a moment and remarked that unfortunately that was the attitude of the Muslims all over. He then asked me to pull out my staff at once and wind up the work.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar was an influential and active Minister of the Government of India who had always shown a very friendly disposition towards me. During these days, I was actively engaged in planning an iron and steel industry in Hyderabad with Bustar ore and used to be frequently in touch with him. During the course of one of our conversations he persuaded me to start a ship-building yard at Masulipatam and develop that port which would provide the most feasible outlet for Hyderabad to the sea. He visualised that some kind of arrangements could, in due course, be made with the Government of India to give Hyderabad certain political and economic privileges, in the port. Later, he put me in touch with the world famous John Brown's Shipyard and brought about close personal contact between Lord Aberconway and myself. Sometime later, in one of our conversations, I outlined the whole scheme to Mr. Jinnah. He deliberated for some time and then said he did not think that Hyderabad would eventually get any material, political or economic privileges by developing the Masulipatam Port or building the shipyard there. He asked me to consider Karachi as an alternative. By then, the outline of Pakistan was becoming more vivid. I promised to consider the matter seriously. He in turn assured me that I would receive all the help needed from the Sind Government, then so ably headed by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.

I was in a little difficult position. To some extent I was committed

both to Sir Ramaswami and to John Brown. Eventually in one of our meetings, I conveyed to Sir Ramaswami that I would like to consider seriously Karachi as an alternative. After some thought he smilingly asked me if I had been advised in the matter by Mr. Jinnah. I said yes. He did not mind and asked me to go ahead with whatever I thought best. I experienced no difficulty either with John Brown in the matter who had already been informed of my views by Sir Ramaswami. So, the exploratory team that I had got ready for Masulipatam was sent out to Karachi and worked there almost till the advent of Pakistan. In fact, that planning eventually took the shape of the present Karachi Shipyard. Of course, later on I felt it would be more advantageous to bring about collaboration with Stulcken Yard of Germany, and brought about an agreement between WPIDC and Stulcken Yard. Incidentally the whole scheme, to my disappointment, eventually took a somewhat different shape from the one I had visualised.

As the movement for Pakistan gained momentum, Mr. Jinnah decided that the time has come when an Economic Planning Board should be constituted for the Muslims in general with special emphasis on areas that might constitute Pakistan. I was asked to work out and develop the proposal fast. I suggested certain names for the Board with Ali Nawaz Jung, the distinguished and well-known Chief Engineer of Hyderabad, as chairman. He accepted all my proposals and announced the formation of the Board with representatives from various parts of the subcontinent. The first meeting was held at Calcutta and was attended by Khwaja Nazimuddin who was Chief Minister of Bengal then. A good deal of work was done till Pakistan came into existence. Regular reports were submitted to Mr. Jinnah who carefully studied them and offered comments, and from time to time guided the policy for future work with due regard to the rapidly changing political conditions.

How Mr. Jinnah led the half-asleep Muslim community to the ultimate achievement of Pakistan will ever remain in human history as a great illustration of individual success. A large section of the intellectuals among the Muslims regarded the idea of Pakistan as impracticable and yet there were others who thought that disunity between Muslims and Hindus would only undermine the struggle of India for freedom. There were relatively few persons who were well off financially. On the whole the Muslims were much poorer. Mr. Jinnah overcame all the obstacles and conducted the whole movement hardly with any finances.

At one stage when the movement had gained sufficient momentum he decided to raise a public subscription of rupees ten lakhs. The All-India Congress had of course crores at its disposal. I was called to Bombay and

asked how much of that amount I would be able to raise from my side. I told Mr. Jinnah that Hyderabad had about two per cent of the Muslim population of the subcontinent but I would be bold enough to undertake contributions from that side of 20 per cent of the target. He felt satisfied. I returned to Hyderabad and from a small number of friends raised the sum of Rs. two lakhs and forwarded it to him. I received a letter of acknowledgement, and thought I had done my duty.

Sometimes later one evening I received a telephone call from Mr. Jinnah. He wanted to see me urgently at Bombay. When I met him I was told that the total subscriptions received, including the sum of Rs. 2 lakhs I had remitted, amounted to hardly 2/3rd of the target of Rs. 10 lakhs. He said he was busy and carrying on the struggle almost single-handed and that I should try to make up the deficit soon as it was necessary that he should make a public announcement early that his demand had been fulfilled. I thought for a moment and said I would do my best to make up as much of the deficit as possible. Not as much, he said; I would have to collect the whole.

After my return to Hyderabad I made efforts to raise money. I made no public appeal but tapped every possible source privately. At the end of it, I was short of about a lakh and half rupees. I persuaded an old friend and colleague of mine to contribute some half a lakh so that I could return to Mr. Jinnah with a deficit of Rs. one lakh only. But all efforts to persuade my friend failed. On the last evening I persuaded my friend almost till after 10 o'clock in the night in my office but he remained unmoved. I then lost my temper and asked him to go home having made up my mind to make up the amount myself and return to Mr. Jinnah with a deficit of Rs. one lakh only.

As I entered my car to go home, the doorman presented me with an envelope saying that my friend had given it to be delivered to me as I left the office. I asked him to leave it on my table. He said that he had been emphatically asked to deliver it in my hand. With some disgust I tore open the envelope. It contained a cheque for the entire amount that we were short of, and a small note simply said that Mr. Jinnah's wishes must be met in full. Incidentally this was the same person who had once agreed with me that he would never dare meet Mr. Jinnah again.

With a certain amount of pride and satisfaction I presented the draft for the entire amount that he needed. In a simple tone he said: "Thank you, I knew you would do it". We discussed some problems for hours afterwards, but not a word more was mentioned about the amount collected or how it was done. That was just like him. He had no time for profuse expressions of appreciation or unnecessary details. The few words that he had spoken

were ample reward for his followers.

As the leaves of the calendar rolled on in the year 1947, the goal of Pakistan appeared nearer in sight. There were many ups and downs and many anxious and nervous moments. On many occasions it looked like touch and go. Both Mr. Jinnah's life and sometimes his liberty were in serious danger. I once asked him what would happen if he were to be arrested and locked up. It would no doubt arouse the feeling of the entire Muslim population of the subcontinent but what would happen to the Movement. He was fully conscious of the situation. He said that he did not need the cheap popularity he would personally gain by arrest but he had to avoid it at all cost for the sake of the Movement. Actually on one occasion the danger was so serious that he was temporarily to move to Karachi after Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah had assured him that law and order were a provincial subject and no one could be allowed to lay hand on him under the Sind Administration.

Eventually, the British realised that to fulfil this pledge to grant independence to India, they will have to divide the subcontinent. The Congress and other Hindu leaders believed that a retreat on their part would be strategic as they were certain that in a matter of months the whole frenzy for Pakistan would die down and that Pakistan, financially and economically crumbled, would come back to India with folded hands. An organised transfer of power by the British, involving some delay would have been more prudent and would have reduced if not avoided the mass tragedy that followed, but Lord Mountbatten was eager to claim the pride of performance even ahead of schedule.

At long last, it was the will of Allah that the flag of the independent sovereign Muslim State of Pakistan should be unfurled by the hands of Mr. Jinnah on the auspicious 27th day of Ramazan corresponding to the 14th day of August, 1947.

The day was celebrated by every Muslim all over the subcontinent—I dare say, by most Muslims all over the world. The State had come into being with only a handful of enthusiastic and selfless workers but little else. There was no money in the exchequer—not even tables or chairs or adequate stationery to run the State. There was, of course, the dominating will and guidance of Mr. Jinnah.

One evening, early in September, I received a long-distance call from Karachi. It was announced that the Governor-General would like to speak to me. I felt quite excited. This was the first time Mr. Jinnah was speaking to me as the Governor-General of the sovereign State of Pakistan. "Is that you Laik Ali", he said, "and how are you?" I in turn thanked him and inquired about his health and briefly conveyed my felicitations.

He then told me that the first delegation of Pakistan to the United Nations would be leaving shortly for Lake Success and he had included me as a delegate. This came to me as a great surprise. I mildly protested that I had only recently returned from USA and Europe and was too involved in my affairs and suggested that it would be more appropriate if some one from Pakistan takes my place. He said that it was after duly taking all these points into consideration that he and the Government of Pakistan had decided to send me as a delegate. There was little I could say after that. He gave the proposed date of departure of the delegation and asked me to meet him a day or two earlier.

Frankly, I was not very happy with the situation. Besides, the heavy burden of my own affairs, the position of Hyderabad after the withdrawal of the British had become so unstable that we really did not know which way to turn. I, of course, held no official position in the state then but had a voice in the major issues of policy. Anyway, when I met Mr. Jinnah in Karachi, he at the very start elaborated that Pakistan, a newly-born State, was in urgent need of finances both internally as well as in foreign exchange. He was aware of my personal contacts with the financial circles and to some extent the administration in the USA and some parts of Europe, and the purpose of my appointment as a delegate was really to go there and prepare ground for a substantial loan and aid.

I now fully saw the purpose and importance of my mission under the garb of a delegate to the United Nations. I whole-heartedly offered to do all that I could and leave no stone unturned.

The following morning there was a meeting of the Cabinet of Pakistan presided over by Mr. Jinnah. I submitted that such negotiations would naturally involve certain political and strategic obligations and I must have an idea of the limit to which one can go. I particularly asked Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan, who was the leader of the delegation as well as the Foreign Minister, to have the matter clarified. But the answer was given by Mr. Jinnah himself. He said Pakistan would accept any reasonable terms and offer "*quid pro quo*" short of affecting its hard earned sovereignty. I submitted that I would like to have some more definite line given and further clarification. He cut short my argument by saying that he had enough confidence in my discretion and there was no need for any further clarification.

I do not propose to discuss here any details of my negotiations abroad but when I returned towards the end of October, I found that there was a holocaust in the entire subcontinent.

With great difficulty and by special arrangements I managed to journey to Lahore, and saw him ailing in bed. The doctors had forbidden visitors

but I was allowed to meet him for not more than half an hour.

I briefly reported the situation to Mr. Jinnah. At the moment, Pakistan was faced with another serious situation. The new Government of India had withheld the agreed share of Pakistan in the Reserve Bank's cash balances amounting to some Rs. 55 crore. There was hardly any money to meet the day-to-day expenses and the position was really critical. India had really believed that this very first blow would finish Pakistan. Could Hyderabad state or the Nizam advance adequate loan to Pakistan to tide over the crisis?

The half hour that the doctors had allowed for the interview had already stretched to nearly three hours. Several reminders, including at least three interruptions from Miss Jinnah, were ruled out and stern orders were issued that no one should enter the room unless he called himself. I had never found myself in such a helpless situation. I could see the strain on his face and the coughing that persisted. Yet there was nothing I could do. The problems were grave and he was not prepared to let me go. This strain, I regret to say, resulted in serious relapse that afternoon and it took him several days to get over.

Never in my life had I seen Mr. Jinnah emotional except on that day. He asked me if I had seen the condition of the refugees as I drove from the airport to his residence. I had of course. Tears rolled down his cheeks several times as he spoke of the mass human misery.

I was lodged at the residence of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan who was also ailing and in bed, but I had no opportunity to meet him.

Soon after that the Nizam sanctioned a loan of Rs. 20 crore to Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah lost no time in publicly announcing that Pakistan had received a loan of that sum from Hyderabad and that Pakistan had no further financial problems. This completely upset the nefarious plans of India, and the leaders of India were just wild and furious over it. Mr. Gandhi weighed up the situation and took the moral stand that India must honour its undertaking and obligation and pay Pakistan its due share of finances or else he would fast unto death. The gesture saved the face of the leaders of the Indian Government and the sum of Rs. 55 crore was soon after paid out to Pakistan.

I could write more about the great qualities of head and heart of this great Quaid whom I have all along referred to as Mr. Jinnah. I will just quote one more instance. In March, 1948, when I was negotiating terms between Hyderabad State and India with Mountbatten, Nehru and Patel, I was told that one major stumbling block in Indo-Hyderabad relations was the loan of Rs. 20 crore advanced by Hyderabad to Pakistan. I was not prepared to recall the loan but agreed to negotiate with Pakistan and request it not to

encash the Hyderabad securities for the duration of the stand-still Agreement between Hyderabad and India. I flew to Karachi. The Quaid made me his personal guest. The following morning there was a Cabinet meeting presided over by the Quaid-i-Azam. No Minister was agreeable to accede to my request. But then the Quaid, raised his finger and said anything that Pakistan could do to bring about an honourable settlement between Hyderabad and India, would be done. He said my proposal is acceptable and Pakistan would abide by it. This ended all further discussions in the Cabinet meeting.

A METICULOUS MAN IN THE SMALLEST MATTER

by Syed Shamsul Hasan

DURING all the years in which I had the privilege of associating with many famous personalities of Indian politics, there was no one I met who was as meticulous as the Quaid in small matters.

He was the guardian of vast sum of party funds, but his budgeting of the Muslim League's finances was most meticulous, nor would he tolerate any mixing of his personal with party funds.

He never encouraged extravagance or indulged in frivolous spending. He believed in the minimum expense and only honest expenditure. On principles, he would fight for even a single pie.

Here are few instances from his life which I recall from my long and cherished association with him, from 1913 till the time of his death.

Jinnah's relations with the Maharajah of Mahmoodabad were very old, to the extent that his two sons, Amir Ahmad and Nabbu Mian, called him "Uncle".

Once one of the brothers, Nabbu Mian (Amir Haider), asked for permission to stay with the Quaid at his bungalow in Delhi. Amir Ahmad (present Raja Sahib) was already staying with him at that time. Mr. Jinnah only agreed if Nabbu Mian could stay with his brother and share the room.

Whenever Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad stayed with him, on his return home he used to send a draft of Rs. 25 as a tip for the servants of the Quaid. But Mr. Jinnah did not allow tipping. He considered it was the duty of the servants to take care of the guests.

His bungalows were always kept in excellent condition. He was extremely particular about their maintenance. I remember once he wanted to have a telephone extension installed in one of the rooms of his bungalow.

He called the Contract officer of the Telephone Department not to discuss the annual rent of the extension, but to see how an apparatus could be fixed without damaging the inside of the room.

The Quaid had two accounts with the Imperial Bank of India—Account Nos. 1 and 2. Whenever any money was deposited a slip bearing the number of the account in which he wanted to have the amount deposited was also sent. Account No. 1 was his personal and No. 2 was that of the President of the All-India Muslim League. He was, therefore, very particular that the money should be deposited in the proper account.

However, at times the clerks of the Bank did not bother to ensure that the deposit was correctly made. Many times the accounts got jumbled. When Mr. Jinnah received the statement of accounts he thoroughly checked it with his personal jottings. On many occasions he corrected the Bank accounts.

Sometime in 1945, Matherun Electric Supply Corporation, Bombay, were engaged to carry out small repairs at his bungalow. After the repairs they sent him a bill for items: (1) One short circuit; (2) Examination of all lights (3) Fixing of one pendant holder, and charged Rs. 10 for these repairs.

Being a very meticulous man, Mr. Jinnah checked what they had done at the house and found the bill was incorrect, as nothing was done regarding items one and two. He informed the Company about this and asked them to correct the bill.

In the amended bill which he received items No. 1 and 2 were deleted, but the amount remained unchanged, which was for the pendant holder. This was nothing but cheating.

Mr. Jinnah again informed the Company that the pendant holder could be bought for twelve annas and the worker's wages came to be about Rs. 2. Therefore, he should have been charged for these two things. He asked them to amend the bill.

Here again it was not a question of money, but of principle. He believed that in return for the money paid, he should get the necessary service.

He had two cars bearing Nos. BMW 8802 and 1132. Once the Bombay Taxation authorities sent him a bill of Rs. 25 with a penalty of the amount equivalent to twice the tax, without sending him a prior notice for payment.

Even in much trifles he was extremely exact. He was surprised to receive the bill as it was his practice to clear accounts before the due date. Moreover, he had only used the car for about 11 days (1st April to 11th) and had informed the authorities that the car would not be on road for some time. He pointed out the mistake and took a strong view of the whole affairs.

He was extremely conscious of his civic rights and duties. A certain

discount was allowed by the Delhi Municipality if the Muncipal Taxes were paid before August 1, 1946. I received instructions from him to pay the taxes before the 29th of July so that the discount of Rs. 1 and 15 annas would be availed of.

The Hindu officials were always on the lookout to annoy him. After World War II, petrol was supplied strictly on permits. The Quaid had his quota as a member of the legislature. Once he came to Delhi and applied for a petrol permit for one of his cars which was usually kept in Bombay.

Instead of complying with his request, the Sanctioning Officer asked him to explain how he had got so much petrol as to travel by car from Bombay to Delhi. His reply shocked the officer. He had brought the car by train from Bombay.

The Quaid's bungalow at Malabar Hills, Bombay, was just like a palace with a huge garden and lush green lawns. He took keen interest in its maintenance. There were some fruit trees in the garden which were well looked after. Some of these trees were Alfonso mangoes, which he loved. But when the season came and wherever he was, he used to enquire about their number and quality from Mohammad Ali Chaiwalla, who worked as his solicitor and looked after his property in Bombay.

I used to look after his bungalow in Delhi. I remember, once I received a letter from him asking me to instruct the servant at the bungalow to remove the grape fruits and inform him of their number, which was 46.

Mr. Jinnah believed in the dignity of labour and never accepted anything gratis. Whatever work he wanted to be done he called for estimates from many parties without any discrimination — Hindus, Christains, Parsees—all were welcome.

In 1946, there was a fire explosion in Bombay as a result of which 39 glass panes of his bungalow were damaged and one of the roofs began leaking. Khan Bahadur Mohammad Din, a renowned contractor, offered to carry on the repairs and told him that the cost would be very meagre.

Being very exact in public and private dealings the Quaid was not prepared to give the contract unless he knew the cost of such repairs. He, therefore, asked for various tenders from two or three contractors. One of them quoted only Rs. 150.

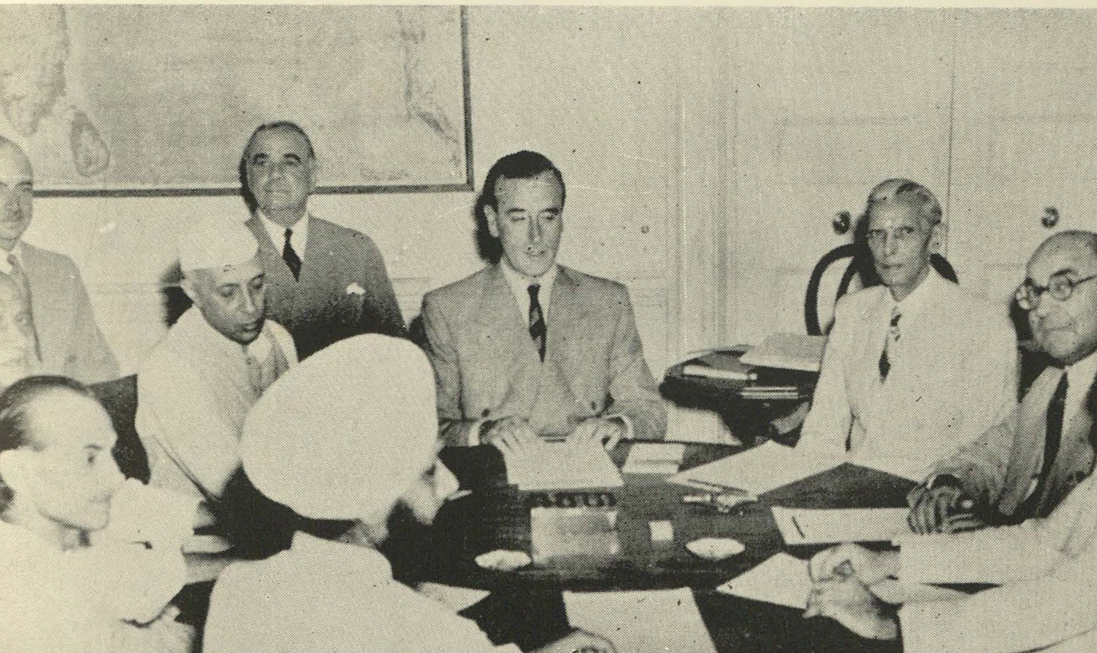
As he was very particular about his own accounts, he was extremely meticulous about the All-India Muslim League accounts too. Any person who did not submit proper accounts was always looked down upon and was never trusted again.

Being the President of the All-India Muslim League he used to receive

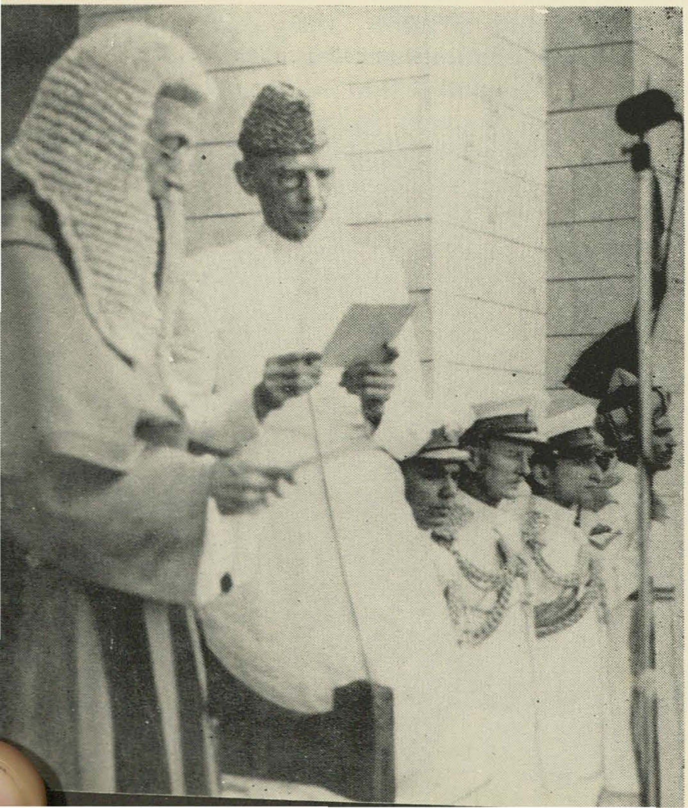


A group photo during the dinner given by the Prime Minister of Egypt on December 18, 194
L. to R. the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Nukrashi Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt, Mr. Heik
Pasha, Egyptian Representative at U. N. and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

Quaid-i-Azam, the Quaid-i-Millat and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishter in conversation with Lord Mountbatten and the Congress Leaders on June 2, 1947.







Transfer of Power ceremony on August 14, 1947. Lord Mountbatten is also seen in the picture.

Quaid-i-Azam taking the oath of office as first Governor - General of Pakistan.

money orders from all over the subcontinent of varying amounts, from a few annas to hundreds of rupees. Each one of the receipts was signed by him personally even in those hectic days when he had to devote his attention to other matters of greater importance involving the future of the Muslims of India.

The Quaid did not allow money to be misused for political ends. In late 1945 a gentleman from Karachi requested him to ask one of the candidates for the Muslim League's ticket for the assembly elections to pay a sum of Rs. 1,00,000, which he had promised for the construction of a mosque at a previous election. The Quaid's reply was very simple. He told him that he had no knowledge of such an arrangement and even if there was one, he did not approve of anyone getting a Muslim League ticket on his making a payment for any other purpose.

Although he appreciated that the construction of a mosque was one of the most laudable objects, any donation given for an object, however laudable, by persons who expected thereby to secure a League ticket was to his mind no charity at all and most improper. He told the gentleman point blank that he (Quaid) could never be a party to such an arrangement.

Being an unchallenged leader of the Muslim India, the Quaid used to receive hundreds of letters every day. They were promptly answered. One Khan Bahadur, an old Muslim Leaguer of the Punjab, sent him a letter congratulating him on his birthday along with a present.

He called the Quaid his "Pir, and the Muslim League his religion" and prayed for his long life and pledged to give everything for the cause of Muslim India.

The letter was unstamped. Ignoring the sentiments and the praises in the letter of the Khan Bahadur, the Quaid replied, mentioning that his letter had no stamps and it was by mistake that his secretary had accepted it. The practice otherwise was to refuse unstamped letters which came in hundreds.

He pointed out that if he accepted such letters they would be a drain on the finances of the League, which needed more funds for its work. Next week, a four anna money order was received from the same Khan Bahadur.

Such was the meticulousness the Quaid.

Dawn, *Karachi*, *December* 25, 1966.

WITHOUT PREJUDICE, FEAR OR FAVOUR

by Justice M. B. Ahmad

"LET us examine this question thoroughly without prejudice, fear or favour."

This is what Quaid-i-Azam used to say when any constitutional proposal was put to him. It was his practice to get all the references and a complete history of the case before he was ready to consider any point.

Once he put to me a suggestion in connection with Tribal Areas and finding him in a good mood I said: "Let us examine this question thoroughly, without prejudice, fear or favour". The Quaid-i-Azam smiled and repeated the same.

It was a pleasure to discuss legal and constitutional issues with him. If you supplied a piece of information, you could be sure that he would supply the other. Sometimes it used to be a battle of wits but it always ended most pleasantly. This was the attitude shown by him to various proposals given by Sir Stafford Cripps of the Cabinet Mission or by the National Congress or by Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of undivided India.

Neither Nehru nor Gandhi had the cold logic of the Quaid-i-Azam or his faculty of dispassionate examination of problems before him. The Quaid's impersonal attitude convinced the Muslims of India of his sincerity, honesty and integrity. To the British rulers he was anathema. After the first meeting Mountbatten had with the Quaid-i-Azam, he said that he took one hour to "unfreeze Jinnah".

Sometime before the Cabinet Mission arrived in India, Gandhi, finding the popularity and strength of the Muslim League increasing, invited the Quaid-i-Azam to a discussion on the political problems. Gandhi went so far

as to visit the Quaid for several days. In the end he was unable to convince him, and the Quaid-i-Azam assured him that any time Gandhi thought he had better arguments to give he would be willing to discuss the problems once again.

The same spirit of dispassionate reasoning kept the Quaid-i-Azam like a rock against strong official and diplomatic pressure to accept whatever terms the British Government offered. As the general belief goes, if the Quaid had not "stuck to the guns" there would have been no Pakistan.

There were occasions when the Muslim League had accused Mountbatten of double-crossing; there were moments when Gandhi proposed that Jinnah should be made Prime Minister of India; there were moments when the British Government was prepared to bestow all possible honours on Jinnah.

It was his unique sense of understanding which kept him out of reach and made him stand unmoved on the strength of his convictions. It is uncharitable to say that "Pakistan came into being on account of Jinnah's vanity".

After the establishment of Pakistan, addressing the Government officers in Karachi on 11th October 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam said:

"The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years, is, by the grace of God, an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was a means to an end not an end in itself.

"The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play."

At the inauguration of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 14th August, 1947, he said:

"The tolerance and goodwill that the great Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs.

"The whole history of Muslims, wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practised."

About the responsibilities of Government, the Quaid-i-Azam in his speech at a public meeting on 21st March, 1948, at Dacca said:

"The Government can have for its aim only one objective — how to serve the people, how to devise ways and means for their welfare, for their betterment. What other object can the Government have and, remember

now, it is in your hands to put the Government in power or remove the Government from power, but you must not do it by mob methods.

"You have the power: you must learn how to use it; you must try and understand the machinery. Constitutionally, it is in your hands to upset one Government and put another in power if you are dissatisfied to such an extent."

Indeed some people have dubbed the Quaid as a "dictator". Yes, a "dictator" who did not force himself on the people. He was aware of this criticism, and how he hated a dictator! He told me once, when the question of the accession of the States came up for discussion: "I hate to be a Maharajah with flatterers around stopping you from taking decisions on merits. When we say the people are sovereign, let there be no doubt about it. They are sovereign."

The people had elected the Constituent Assembly. The Quaid-i-Azam treated it as a Sovereign Body and made his government subservient to it.

Much is being said about socialism in Islam by the various political parties. What the Quaid-i-Azam thought of social justice is conveyed in his speech at the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan at Karachi on 1st July, 1948. "I shall watch", he said, "with keenness the work of your Research Organisation in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary, it was largely responsible for the two World Wars in the last half century.

"The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanisation and industrial efficiency is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work out our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on the true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice.

"We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind."

In his message to the nation on August 14, 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "Nature has given you everything, you have unlimited resources. The foundations of your State have been laid and it is now for you to build, and

build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you God-speed."

In a broadcast talk from Radio Pakistan, Lahore, on 30th October, 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam said:

"Let us now plan to build and reconstruct and regenerate our great nation and our sovereign State of Pakistan, which, as you know, is not only the biggest Muslim State in the world but the fifth biggest sovereign State in the world.

"Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Musalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly in the service of our nation and make Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world.

"While the horizon is beset with dark clouds, let me appeal to you and give this message to the people of Pakistan. Create enthusiasm and spirit and go forward with your task with courage and hope, and we shall do it. Are we down-hearted? Certainly not. The history of Islam is replete with instances of valour, grit and determination.

"So march on notwithstanding obstructions, obstacles and interference; and I feel confident that a united nation of 70 million people with a grim determination and with a great civilisation and history need fear nothing. It is now up to you to work, work and work; and we are bound to succeed."

Immediately after the inauguration of Pakistan on 14th August, 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam with the Prime Minister sitting by his side, once asked me to remember what responsibilities had been entrusted to the Secretaries. I, as Secretary to the Government, had to discharge my responsibilities and see that action was taken in accordance with the principle that whatever is best for Pakistan should be done. In my reports and notes to him he said, I should not think that I was speaking to the Quaid-i-Azam or the Prime Minister but that I should speak out whatever I thought was necessary on merits.

Even if I were to say that the Quaid-i-Azam or the Prime Minister should go, he and the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan would take the suggestion seriously and examine it.

In constitution making the Quaid-i-Azam held the belief that the constitution which had the support of the people and for which the people were prepared to sacrifice and labour, should be planned so as to produce the greatest good of the people.

He firmly believed in a democracy which had the sanction of and was consistent with Islamic ideals. In a speech at Sibi Darbar on 14th February, 1948, he said:

"It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. The Almighty has taught us that our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations."

In Islam he thought there was no provincialism and every member of the community was equal before the law and before the government. Speaking at a public meeting at Dacca on 21st March, 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam said:

"Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism."

The Quaid-i-Azam felt that the foundations of the Government should be built on the willing consent and cooperation of the people. The system of government should be such as to inspire confidence of the people who alone could sustain it. In the creation of Pakistan he said that he had done his job and it was for the people to do the rest. Any idea of establishing himself securely on the "throne" or to build an empire out of his unique popularity was unthinkable, so far as the Quaid-i-Azam was concerned.

I had heard he was not much of a religious mind in the beginning of his life but as I saw him closely during the later period, I believe that he thought Islam was the only force that could make Pakistan strong and flourishing.

In New Delhi when he used to discuss with us the future administration he said that he had heard about corruption among the ranks of Ministers and he was extremely unhappy over it. When he came to Karachi, he lost no time in suggesting to the Government to enact the P.R.O.D.A., a legislation, the first of its kind, to stop corruption. This was the first of its kind also in the whole of India and Pakistan.

THE QUAID THROUGH A JOURNALIST'S EYES

by Sultan Ahmad

THE memory can play funny tricks on a journalist. He sees so much of life every day, and is often so close to historical events, and its great architects and saboteurs, that time often seems to lose its meaning for him. He lives so much in the present that he seldom bothers to pack his past experiences in neat little niches unless he sits down to write a book or an article.

Now when I look back at the tumultuous days of Muslim India immediately before Independence, they seem so close as if they were yesterday. But when I recall the details of those great events they seem blurred and mixed up as if they took place in a remote dream-like past.

When I look around with the memory of a Muslim reporter, who was at New Delhi in those days and remained in touch with the top League leaders, I find so many of the faces missing. Apart from the Quaid-i-Azam, round whom like a constellation all other League leaders moved, five more have vanished from our midst. No longer alive are Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, I. I. Chundrigar and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. And J. N. Mandal, who became a Minister in the Interim Government, through the League quota, has crossed over to India. All that does make 24 years seem a distant past although in the sense of time it is not a very long period.

For the five Muslim newsmen then in New Delhi, who after partition came face to face with the rigours of uninhibitedly competitive reporting, our news world was then small. We covered the activities of the League leaders with the Quaid-i-Azam as the focal point, and kept an eye on the Congress camp which ultimately had its headquarters in the Bhangi Colony. When the Muslim League joined the Interim Cabinet our world came to have more dimensions than merely political; still it was a limited world.

The Quaid-i-Azam had a general liking for young Muslim reporters but it was not easy to meet him after he plunged into the negotiations which finally led to partition. Meeting the Quaid-i-Millat became less easy after he became Finance Minister. And even if one met Mr. Chundrigar, who was Commerce Minister, one did not get much out of him since he was not very communicative, and never really felt at ease with the Press.

Sardar Nishtar was kind and helpful. And even more sporting was Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, who used to be the favourite of the Muslim reporters and several of their non-Muslim colleagues. Mr. Mandal's was an open house; but we were often at a loss to make sense out of the things he said. Probably that was the inadequacy of a small man catapulted by history to a height too dizzy for him.

Mr. K. H. Khurshid, now an Azad Kashmir leader, was Private Secretary to the Quaid in the final phase of the Pakistan negotiations. A young man performing exacting duties, he was greatly liked by the Quaid; but that also meant that he had to be very cautious with the Pressmen. He was helpful to the Muslim reporters; but as time went on he became less communicative about the real negotiations.

I was then representing the Orient Press of India, a Muslim news agency, now defunct, set up because the Associated Press of India was found to cover Muslim news inadequately. When formal interviews with the Quaid-i-Azam became difficult in the fateful 1947, I was told of a method of getting to the Quaid-i-Azam by Mr. Kirmani, then Assistant Editor of "Manshoor".

Mr. Khurshid used to leave his office, 10, Aurengzeb Road, at about 5 p.m. after connecting the phone direct to the Quaid. If we rang up after he left, Miss Fatima Jinnah would sometimes pick up the phone, say that he had left, and answer some elementary questions on who had met the Quaid that day and allied matters. Sometimes she would complain of misreporting in some newspaper, and state the exact position.

Sometimes the Quaid-i-Azam himself would pick up the phone, say that Mr. Khurshid had gone home, ask who was I and what I wanted. He would then give the answer to the question, and sometimes even ask us to ring up the next day or contact Mr. Khurshid for a detailed answer.

One night I saw Mr. Kirmani talking to the Quaid from my office phone for nearly 45 minutes at about 9 p.m. The Quaid analysed the political situation for him, asked him to tell other reporters the correct position, and indicated the errors in some of the Press reports.

As the negotiations for Pakistan came to its conclusive phase this secret means of getting to the Quaid-i-Azam became wholly undependable.

He was not always free to pick up the phone and talk. Mr. Khurshid also began to stay in office till very late. If I rang up the Quaid's number in the hope that Mr. Khurshid might have left I had plenty to feel embarrassed. He would say; "You met me only an hour ago; what are you ringing for now?" I had to pretend I had some new questions to ask. Even on the days I did manage to get the Quaid on the phone he would often say he could not divulge anything until the negotiations were complete.

About any other negotiations we could know the trend from his colleagues; but when the Pakistan negotiations came to their final phase he was not willing to take many of them into confidence until the picture was clear.

One evening Mr. Manzoorul Haque, who was then representing "Dawn", Delhi, and I went to the Quaid's house. He was not there; he had gone to meet Lord Mountbatten, the Viceroy. We went in and talked to Mr. Khurshid. Meanwhile, the Quaid's white car appeared at the gate. Mr. Khurshid became uneasy, and asked us either to move to the visitors' room across the entrance or stand outside.

The Quaid had given instructions to him that visitors, particularly newspapermen, should not be entertained in his small room. He was often busy typing something important connected with the negotiations. And newspaper clippings heavily underlined by the Quaid used to lie around. I was told that once a newspaperman produced a good story only through looking at the underlined newspaper clippings. And, if I am right, somebody even removed a few of the clippings once.

When the Quaid's car drove in, we went and stood near the entrance. The car came to a stop and we greeted him without making any effort to talk to him. Instead of going up he moved towards us, and asked whom we represented. After we answered that, he placed his hands on our shoulders and asked, "What would you like to know?" I said, "These negotiations have been going on for sometime. We would like to know the outcome." He smiled, thought for a moment, and said that things were still at the talking stage. When an agreement was reached he would certainly let us know. He would not say any more. When he went up, Mr. Manzoorul Huq, told me: "He must be in a happy mood to do this these days."

I was at the Imperial Hotel, New Delhi, when the Council of the Muslim League met to endorse the June 3 Partition Plan. The Khaksars had gathered outside on Queen's Road. They demonstrated against the leaders when they arrived with the plea that they did not like a truncated Pakistan, and made it difficult for the Quaid to enter the hotel. Ultimately, with the help of the Muslim League National Guards and the Police, he did. By

that time the man, who was proverbially punctual for every appointment was late by a few minutes and he was plainly angry.

When he entered the carpeted corridor he began running towards the hall. A young enthusiast tried to stop him and hurriedly garlanded him. The Quaid grabbed the garland, flung it aside and ran towards the hall.

That was a trying day for the Quaid, who was presiding, because of the dogged opposition of Maulana Hasrat Mohani to the manner India was sought to be divided.

Later in the evening I went to the Central Telegraph Office across the road with Mr. Iqbal Mirza, who was then representing the "Times of India". Meanwhile, the Khaksars had burst into the hotel room with their '*belchas*' and tried to force their way to the first floor ballroom where the Council was in session. They were teargassed and forced back. There were glass splinters all round the stairs.

That was my first real taste of teargas. I tried to run upstairs twice but failed. The gas hurt the eyes too much. Later like some others I dipped my handkerchief in water, put it on my face, and ran upstairs. When I managed to peep into the hall there was the Quaid composed as ever and wholly undisturbed by the commotion caused by the Khaksars. That was clear proof of his physical courage.

When he went home that night some police escort followed him. Next morning when I passed by his house it looked something like an ARP headquarters. There were a number of policemen under tents in his compound. I was told they were there under the orders of the Viceroy to ensure nothing untoward happened to him, and endangered the negotiations.

I am sure a person as fastidious as the Quaid must have found having those policemen around and their tents inside his compound very irksome. As far as the Press was concerned, we could not enter the house for some days until our credentials were cleared with Mr. Khurshid. If he was not immediately available we had to wait for some time at the gate.

On one of those days when I dropped into the Quaid's house, Mr. Khurshid was having one of his easy moments. He had a friend with him. He asked me whether I would like to have a cup of tea. I said: "No, thank you." He was quick to point out that not many persons could boast of having had a cup of tea at the Quaid's house, and I would be unwise to be formal. "In that case I would have that cup of tea", I said, and accepted all the biscuits he gave, and took a few more.

I have been to a few functions at the Governor-General's House in Karachi when the Quaid was our chief, including the reception he gave to

Lord Mountbatten on August 13, 1947, to mark the birth of Pakistan; but that cup of tea and the few biscuits at 10, Aurangzeb Road have a place of their own in my life.

One occasion which many Muslim editors in India and Pakistan would recall with pleasure was when he met the delegates to the first All-India Muslim Newspaper Editors' Conference at New Delhi. He did not attend the conference which was inaugurated by Quaid-i-Millat, but was chief guest at a tea party at Hotel Imperial.

He was genuinely happy to see so many Muslim newspaper editors there. A voracious newspaper reader, he had come to realise the importance of the Press and realised the inadequacy of the Muslim Press. He was, therefore, happy to see the editors determined to come together and make progress. He addressed them. There was no mike and his voice could not be heard 15 feet away. All the editors left their tea and gathered around him. Even more harassed were the reporters since they could not hear him properly. We had to sprawl on the floor to take notes.

He had a word of praise for every newspaper, ranging from the old and now defunct "Star of India" to "The Pakistan Times". For Delhi's "Dawn" he had the choicest praise. When he came to the Orient Press of India he said: "We have a struggling news agency in the Orient Press of India". My Managing Director was puzzled; he did not know whether it was a compliment or a criticism. But others convinced him it was a compliment, though not too much of that.

It was a memorable sight I saw when Mr. Gandhi came to call on him during the Pakistan negotiations. What a tremendous collection of newspapermen, Indian and foreign, were there. Some of the foreign correspondents like Preston Grover were top men.

The photographers present there wanted a photograph of the Quaid and Mr. Gandhi together. But the Quaid never gave a chance. He knew that the negotiation would not make any headway. He did not want pictures of the two fraternising with each other printed all over the world. So he sent Mr. Khurshid to receive Mr. Gandhi when he arrived. When the talks were over he accompanied him to the door and retreated before the cameramen could let go their flash. One or two photographers did try to snap the two together; but they hardly got a picture.

But more memorable than all that to me was a historically unimportant but humanly significant event which I witnessed in Karachi. After the riots in Karachi the Quaid was visiting the refugee camps in the city occupied by local Hindu refugees and Muslim refugees from India. At one of them, behind the Municipal Corporation building, he was greeted by a middle

aged man from Kathiawar. He had a tragic tale to tell, and asked in a highly emotional voice what would happen to him and to his family, and to the Muslims left in India. The Quaid was visibly moved. He touched the screaming refugee on the arm and said that everything possible would be done to help him and others.

"I have lost everything; I have only this valuable thing and I have treasured it", he said, and brought out a money order receipt for Rs. 150 signed by the Quaid from his empty purse. "I am not a rich man; but I sent this money to the Muslim League, and I have got your signature here", he said: pointing to the words "M. A. Jinnah" there. The Quaid was deeply touched by the devotion of that unhappy man. He pressed his arm gently, and said that everything possible would be done to make him at home in Pakistan.

ROUND TABLE TALKS AND AFTER

by Begum Jehan Ara Shah Nawaz

ON the auspicious day of December 25, the nation was blessed with a unique and outstanding personality, who secured Pakistan for them without firing one shot. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, one of the ablest legal and constitutional brains of this subcontinent, believing the achievement of liberty to be essential for his country, worked for it throughout his life. He left no stone unturned to bring all the communities together so that the battle for freedom might be fought unitedly; and for years he worked side by side with some of the foremost Hindu leaders. The foreign yoke and foreign domination must go, but liberty was to be for all and not only for the Hindu majority nation.

While writing, the picture of the last 75 years of political developments is passing before the mind's eye like a cinema film.

Muslims had to have a strong political organisation of their own to safeguard their rights and interests as a minority in the subcontinent and secure for themselves the share of power in any democratic form of Government. They were heavily in debt and owed Hindus crores of rupees. It was essential that they should have separate electorates in order to get their real representatives elected to the legislatures and placed in key positions, persons who would not be mere stooges of the Hindus.

The evening when the name Muslim League was coined and the day when the first deputation waited upon the Viceroy on behalf of the infant organisation, represent a turning point in history. Separate electorates were accepted as the basis of the Minto-Morley Reform Scheme and the foundation of a separate entity of the Muslim nation in the country was established. Outstanding Muslims came into the forefront and the pace of securing further power from the British was accelerated.

After World War I, and the successful conclusion of strife, Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were given to the country. There was great disappointment all round: the Punjab upheaval, and the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy. There was a fresh demand for further reforms. The Simon Commission was appointed without a single Indian included in it and there was great agitation in the country. Not long afterwards the Civil Disobedience Movement was started. Some Muslim leaders were for co-operation with the Commission so that the Muslim case should not go by default and others were for non-co-operation like the Congress.

Then came the Nehru Report which denied Muslims their legitimate right of majority rule in the two major Provinces where they were in the majority.

All this awakened the Muslims to the need to unite and work for their due, irrespective of the Congress or else be reduced to the status of the depressed classes in the country. In Delhi, in 1929, the Muslim League and the Muslim leaders became, one and Jinnah's 14 Points became the slogan of the Muslims in the subcontinent.

At the deliberations of the Round Table Conference, the leadership of Jinnah, who was so ably assisted by the Aga Khan and Shafi, helped the Muslim delegation find solutions to the most intricate problems. The Committe's meetings saw the Muslim delegation speaking with one voice, one word, one demand, one question, one reply. The team was working as one man and winning the respect and esteem of all. The Muslim leaders, with their towering personalities and brilliant speeches kept many at the conference virtually spell-bound. The contrast: Liberal Hindus said one thing, the Mahasabhites another, the Congress a third. Lord Sankey, the Lord Chancellor and President of the Conference, said one day that he had heard of the Muslims being born administrators, but he had seen it with his own eyes the way in which the entire Muslim delegation had worked as a team in the Round Table Conference.

I had the pleasure of knowing Mr. and Mrs. Jinnah personally. Ratti Jinnah and I had become good friends and I spent many a pleasant and interesting hour with them both in Simla and New Delhi. Ratti Jinnah was a beautiful lady, cultured and refined. Lord Reading once said that Mrs. Jinnah was one of the prettiest and most well-dressed women he had ever met.

Working with Mr. Jinnah in the Round Table Conference in the delegation meetings, I came to know the real Jinnah, standing for Muslim solidarity, Muslim unity and Muslim strength. When I went to England, full of fervour for the country's independence, my speeches were the

reflection of my thoughts of nationalism, patriotism and hope. One day when I was talking animatedly about India's freedom and pressing a certein point, Jinnah smiled and said "You are still young but you will get to know what I have learnt after working nearly thirty years with the Hindus."

Maulana Mohammad Ali called me to his bedside four days before his demise. He said graciously that he had great hopes about my future but he had to try and guide me to the right path. Then he related to me some of his sad experiences of working with the Hindus. Although he was very sick, he talked to me for nearly two hours. He advised me to be very careful of what I said from the platform about the future of the Muslim nation in India. I learnt and learnt it very soon, for my nationalism oozed out drop by drop when the long and protracted negotiations went on between the different communities, more especially during the two months of memorable talks with Mr. Gandhi, who had been unanimously elected as arbitrator by the conference. The Congress leader may have been very clever, but he was no match for our astute and vigilant leadership. Disappointed, disgusted and disillusioned, I came to know that the Hindus wanted Hindu Raj and not Indian independence and my leaders had been perfectly right in giving me such good advice. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said that he could not understand the mentality of his community, who were prepared to forego the whole rupee if they had to give four annas out of it to the Muslims. The Shylock mentality of the Hindu nation wrecked everything and when the negotiations broke down, there was nothing left in the conference and we decided to leave London in November, 1931, four days before the conclusion of the deliberations of the conference.

The first Round Table Conference was coming to an end and the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was to make his final speech, and thedelegates were to know what Britain was prepared to give India by wayof further reforms. The Muslim delegation was anxious to learn beforeh nd what safeguards were to be incorporated for the protection of minorities so that, if necessary, some changes could be worked out and secured. A ltter was received by the Aga Khan and the delegation met immediately in his room. Jinnah was delayed and the letter was discussed and had been approved of when Mr. Jinnah arrived. He went through it and pointed out the flaw where none seemed to exist — a flaw that would have meant the annulment of most of what had been conceded. All were amazed. The result: Muslims secured for their nation 12 out of the 14 points. Sind and Frontier became self-governing provinces and gained the same status as that of other Provinces in the subcontinent.

During the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee in summer

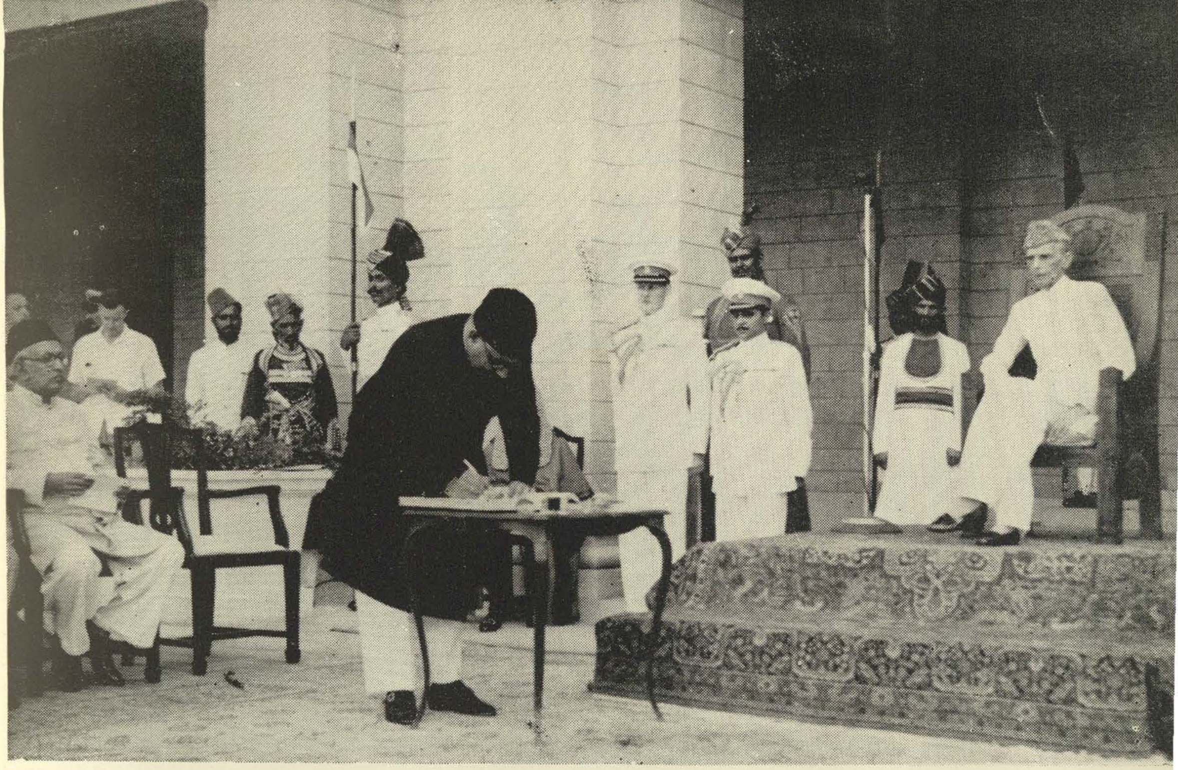
1933, I heard at one of the Secretary of State for India's dinner parties that Mr. Jinnah was thinking of buying a house and settling in London. I was very perturbed and could not sleep the whole night. I rang up Miss Jinnah in the morning and she asked me to lunch with them. After the meeting, when I went to their house, which was about eight miles out of London, I found Mr. Jinnah was sitting and working in the lounge. I went and stood before him and asked, "Is it true what I heard last evening that you are planning to settle in London?" He replied that there was some truth in it. I said, "Mr. Jinnah, you cannot do it. There is no one but you to pilot the nation's boat and you have to return to your country". He said, "Do you really think so?" I replied, "Not only I do think so, but I have come to take you back home. The nation and the country need you."

Throughout the meal, we went on talking about the reorganisation of the Mulim League and making plans for putting a new life into it. Thinking of my talk with the Quaid-i-Azam, I keep wondering how much one learnt from such a towering personality in so short a time.

My daughter Mumtaz, better known as "Tazi", had been of the nationalistic point of view and had leanings towards the Congress. At a small dinner party in New Delhi, I said before Mr. Jinnah that I would give Rs. 1,000 to the League the day Mumtaz joined it. Mr. Jinnah immediately said that the two annas that Tazi would pay as membership fee, with conviction and belief in the League ideals, would be more precious to him than any donation.

During the Parliamentary delegation and the Cabinet Mission talks and negotiations, Tazi's belief in the so-called nationalism was shattered and she saw Mr. Jinnah and joined the Muslim League. Work amongst the women in Old Delhi was entrusted to her and some of the Congress women workers said that Tazi had made the women believe in the League overnight. After every talk with the Quaid, she would return home full of enthusiasm, spirit and hope and would often say that to work for a leader like the Quaid-i-Azam was not only a joy and pleasure, but one felt so elated to be one of the workers of his corps. He infused such spirit in the young and the old equally.

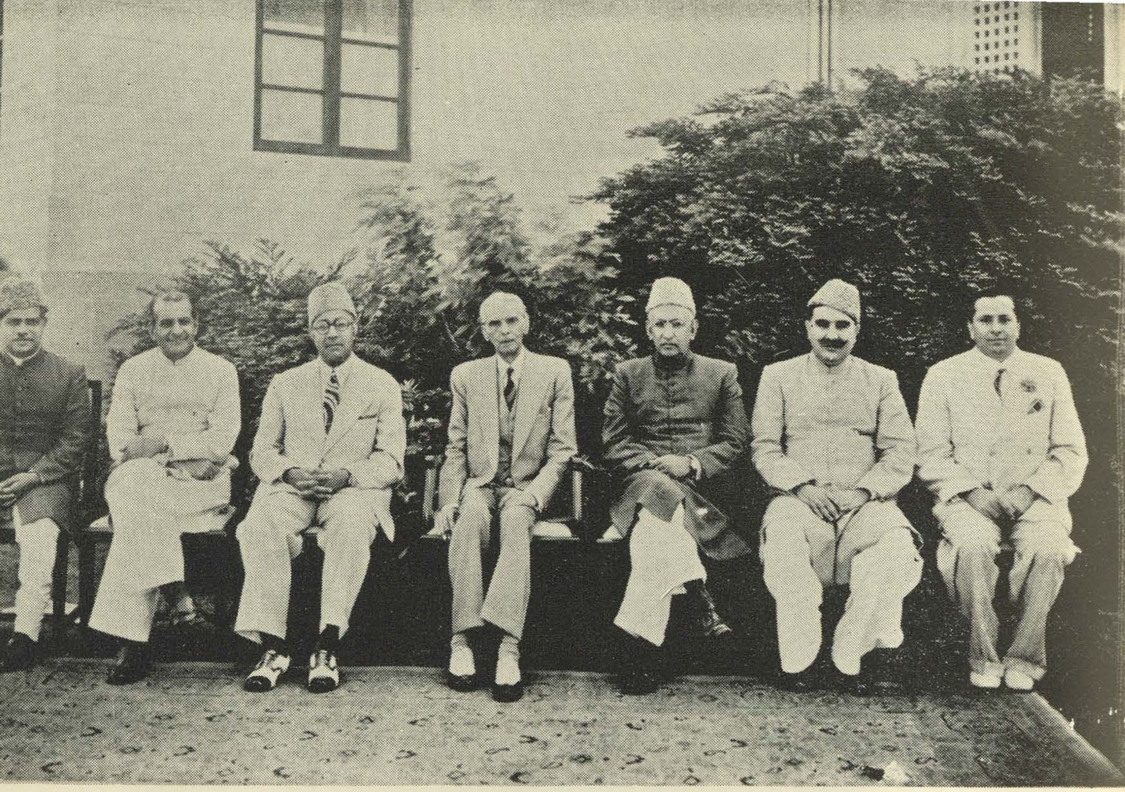
The Pakistan Resolution was to be placed before the Council of the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah wanted to know my reaction and he sent Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman to see me. We had over two hours talks and one could never forget the Quaid's speech in the Council. The resolution was passed unanimously with the whole-hearted support of everyone present in the League Council meeting. How could anyone have differed after that balanced, well-thought-out and convincing speech?



Quaid-i-Azam watches as Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan signs the register after taking oath of office of Prime Minister of Pakistan on August 14, 1947 at Karachi.

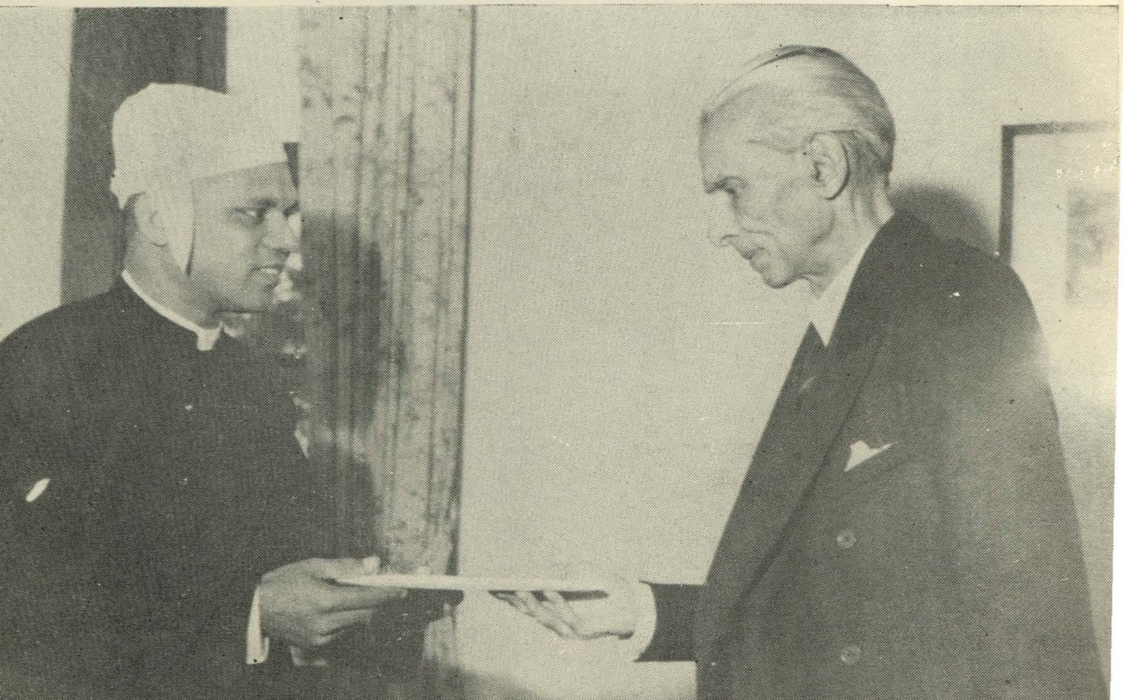
The Quaid-i-Azam attending the Constituent Assembly; on his right is Liaquat Ali Khan first Prime Minister of Pakistan. Also seen in the Assembly are Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Mr. Nurul Amin, Maulana Akram and Dr. I. H. Qureshi.





Quaid-i-Azam, Governor-General of Pakistan with his Cabinet Ministers. L. to R. Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Quaid, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishter and Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada.

U Pe Kin, the Burmese High Commissioner presenting his Credentials to Quaid-i-Azam.



Mr. Jinnah asked Mr. Hasan Ispahani and me to visit the United States and explain the case of the Muslim League to the United Nations delegations as well as to the American citizens. We were preparing to leave but the officials were not helpful. I went to see Mr. Jinnah and told him of our difficulties. He rang up the high official concerned and the strength that he revealed in talking to him was exemplary. Only Mr. Jinnah could have ticked him off as he did and our path was made clear.

Mr. Jinnah cabled to us in New York to join him in London. We lunched with the Quaid a number of times at the Claridges' Hotel, where he was staying. Hasan Ispahani was talking about the Punjabi Muslims, who had done nothing to achieve Pakistan. I listened quietly for two or three days and then I could not stand it any more. I said that it was not the rank and file, but the leaders, who were responsible for it. Quaid asked at once "What do you mean by leaders. Today, every Muslim Leaguer is a leader." I said, "If that is so, then Punjab will not lag behind other Provinces in working hard for the ideal". The movement was launched, the Khizar Ministry had to resign and the British Government did climb down from their high pedestal and had to think of Pakistan as a reality.

While in London, Dr. Buchman, founder of the Moral Rearmament Movement, invited Quaid-i-Azam and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to see their play and have supper with him and wanted me to persuade Quaid to accept the invitation. Hasan and I had seen the play in New York and had liked it immensely. Mr. Jinnah agreed and after the play when we went to Dr. Buchman's house, I said that I had asked Quaid to attend the supper because I wanted Londoners to know him. On that one of the guests said, "London knows Mr. Jinnah." I replied "No. London knows of him, but does not know him." Mr. Jinnah was the life of the party, talked of his grand-children and gave us a number of anecdotes.

A telephone message came from the Lahore Government House, asking me to proceed to New Delhi as the Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten would like me to dine with him the next day. As soon as I reached New Delhi, I went to see the Quaid-i-Azam and told him about the message that I had received. I was glad to learn from him that he and Miss Jinnah and Nawabzada and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan were also dining with the Viceroy on that evening. It was on the same day that Quaid talked to me about the Constitution for Pakistan. He said that he had been working on a constitution for the last 15 months and that it was now almost ready. He also said that he had based it more or less on the new French Constitution. I looked everywhere for the new French Constitution, but I could not find one.

In the evening, when we reached the Viceroy's House, we found

that the Maharaja of Patiala was already there. After dinner, the Viceroy came, sat near me and whispered in my ear that he had practically kidnapped the Maharaja from Chehl. He said that this was the last chance for the Muslims to settle with the Sikhs. He said that he had called me to New Delhi to help him to succeed in his efforts for settlement. He told me that if we did not come to a settlement, Punjab and Bengal would have to be divided and there would be no way out of it. He had forced Patiala to have a talk with Mr. Jinnah directly so that an agreed solution might be found. The Quaid and Maharaja sat on one sofa and talked and later Nawabzada Liaquat Ali was asked to join them. We were at the Viceroy's House until nearly midnight. Just before leaving, I told Quaid-i-Azam everything that the Viceroy had said to me. I learnt from Mr. Jinnah that he was to meet the Maharaja again the next day. I went to see the Quaid in the morning and we had a long and frank talk. The negotiations went on and the Quaid-i-Azam agreed to give the Sikhs a compact Sikh State within the Punjab. In spite of it, they insisted on having a separate Sikh Army. This, of course was out of question and the negotiations broke down. I returned home very disappointed and disgusted.

Mr. Clark Getts, head of a well-known touring agency, who had arranged tours for Mr. Churchill and Mrs. Pandit, wrote to me in October 1947, asking me to visit the United States on a lecture tour and explain all about Pakistan to the American citizens. He said that people in the States were anxious to know why the subcontinent had been divided and Pakistan created. He had written in the letter that they would arrange an extensive tour and would pay 25,000 dollars.

Mr. Jinnah was in Karachi and I showed the letter to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, who was in Lahore. He advised me to accept the invitation, which I did. When Quaid-i-Azam came to Lahore, I placed the letter before him and asked for his kind advice and permission. He said, "Go by all means if you want to and I will not stand in your way. But if you ask for a friend's advice, my reply would be, stick to your work as a legislator, do not swerve from the path that you have been following nor fritter away your energy in outside activities." Then he told me how many times people had tried to divert him from the road that he had chalked out for himself, but he had stuck to his guns and consistently refused to turn his attention into other channels and that is why his efforts had been crowned with success. He further said that his advice would be not to undertake the tour and devote myself to a legislator's good work. I told Mr. Jinnah that I would not accept the invitation and cabled my refusal to Mr. Clark Getts.

I had my last meal with the Quaid-i-Azam in March 1948 during the Budget session of the Constituent Assembly. Nawab of Mamdot, the Chief Minister of Punjab, Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat with their wives and two or three other Punjab members of the Assembly had been asked to lunch at the Governor-General's House. I had been placed on Mr. Jinnah's right and Quaid was in a happy mood. In November 1947, I had found him upset, sad and depressed because of the massacres and also the influx of refugees in lakhs; and I was happy to find that the depression had gone. While talking, he said that he had brought the Central Government to Karachi as that was the only province that had sent an invitation. Shaukat said, "Come to the Punjab now". He replied that the invitation was given too late. At that time, I thought of the day when it was suggested that Mr. Jinnah should be asked to bring the Government to Punjab and the reply was "Let the old man go to Karachi." Quaid was in a very pensive mood and he went on telling us about his arrival in Karachi and what happened after it. He had found that there were only 20 crores of rupees in the State Treasury and bills of 32 crores outstanding. Bare offices without anything and they had to start from scratch. In seven and a half months, the position had changed and a surplus budget had been presented to the Assembly. He said that those who used to say that Pakistan could not be a viable State, had better take note of all this.

Yes; the Almighty God has been kind.

PAKISTAN AS QUAID VISUALISED

by Jamiluddin Ahmad

WAS the Pakistan Movement merely a struggle to do away with alien domination or did the leader of the movement and his followers have in their minds a broad view of the polity and social order they visualised for the state they were seeking to establish? These questions seem to perturb the minds of some people, though there is really no room for ambiguity or confusion on this point.

The first indication as to the objective of Pakistan is to be found in the Quaid-i-Azam's presidential address at the Lahore session of the All India Muslim League in March 1940, at which the Pakistan Resolution was adopted. He observed:

"Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in harmony and peace with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people."

The Quaid-i-Azam did not consider Islam to be a mere private matter, a relationship between man and his God. In his Eid-ul-Fitr message in 1945, he said:

"Everyone, except those who are ignorant, knows that the Quran is the general code of the Muslims — a religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, and penal code. It regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life, from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body, from the rights of all to those of each individual, from morality to crime, from punishment here to that in the life hereafter,

and our Prophet has enjoined that every Musalman should possess a copy of the Quran and be his own priest. Therefore, Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines or rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collectively and individually."

It is obvious that the Muslims in pre-independence India would not have responded to the call of the Muslim League for a separate independent state if it were to be not different from other secular, territorial states. In seeking a separate state they were moved by an urge to secure opportunities for building up their social, cultural, economic and spiritual life in accordance with Islamic ideals and principles. This is clear from the following message which the Quaid sent to the NWFP Muslim Students Federation on June 18, 1945:

"Pakistan not only means freedom and independence but the Muslim ideology, which has to be preserved, which has come to us as a precious gift and treasure and which, we hope, others will share with us."

In another speech at Peshawar on November 24, 1945, he spoke of the motivating force behind the Pakistan Movement: "Remember, Muslims can never be crushed. They have not been crushed during the last one thousand years by any power. This is a dream and hallucination....Our religion, our culture and our Islamic ideals are our driving force to achieve independence."

No other motive stirred the Muslims and no other motive could have evoked in them the enthusiasm and willingness to make the efforts and sacrifices which they eventually made.

The Quaid-i-Azam further clarified the genesis of Pakistan in a speech at Aligarh on March 8, 1944:

"Pakistan is not the product of the conduct or misconduct of the Hindus. It has always been there; only they were not conscious of it. Hindus and Muslims, though living in the same towns and villages, had never been blended into one nation; they were always two separate entities."

In the course of his correspondence with Mr. Gandhi in 1944 the Quaid-i-Azam gave a succinct definition of the Muslims claim to nationhood. He said:

"We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, languages and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a

nation."

He also explained the basis on which Pakistan was being claimed:

"Ours is a case of division and carving out two independent sovereign states by way of a settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance or secession from any existing union. The right of self-determination which we claim postulates that we are a nation, and as such it would be the self-determination of Muslims, and they alone are entitled to exercise that right."

The post-independence speeches of the Quaid-i-Azam clearly show that he continued to stand four-square for the concept of the Muslim nation and Islamic democracy. Some of these are as follows:

1. "Pakistan is the embodiment of the unity of the Muslim nation and so it must remain. That unity, we as true Muslims must jealously guard and preserve." (Dacca, March 28, 1948).

2. "I want every Musalman to do his utmost and help me and support me in creating complete solidarity among the Musalmans, and I am confident that you will not lag behind any other individual or part of Pakistan. We Musalmans believe in one God, one Book, the Holy Quran and one Prophet. So we must stand united as one Nation." (Peshawar, April 17, 1948).

3. "You have fought many a battle on the far-flung battlefields of the globe to rid the world of the Fascist menace and make it safe for democracy. Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of 'Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice' and the equality of manhood on your own native soil." (February 21, 1948).

4. "All I require of you now is that everyone of us whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a 'bulwark of Islam' as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and peace without." (Ocotber 30, 1947).

The Quaid-i-Azam left no room for doubt as to the idealism which had prompted the Muslims to struggle for Pakistan. Speaking at Chittagong on March 26, 1948, he explained the ideals which inspired the movement for Pakistan. He said:

"You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man.... Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilisation. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these basic human rights in the subcontinent. We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden

social system. This domination continued for over two hundred years until we realised that it would ultimately mean complete extinction of Musalmans individually as human beings and collectively as a nation. After all, the story of Pakistan, its struggle and its achievement is the story of great human ideals struggling to survive in the face of odds and difficulties."

Thus, it was not mere desire for economic security which led the Muslims to strive for the creation of Pakistan; they had a higher objective in view, the achievement of which would bring benefits including economic security. They aimed at the realisation of moral and spiritual ideas and values which were threatened in an alien society. The Quaid-i-Azam looked upon the establishment of Pakistan as a means to an end but not an end in itself, and the end was no other than the translation of the principles of Islamic social justice into practice.

Addressing the officers of the Pakistan Government on October 11, 1947, he said:

"The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years is, by the grace of God, an established fact today but the creation of a State of our own was a means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play".

There was no narrowness about his concept of "Islamic social justice". He qualified social justice by the term "Islamic", because it imparts to the concept a preciseness and definiteness which it would otherwise have lacked.

The Quaid-i-Azam realised that in the ultimate analysis people's conduct should be motivated and governed by moral consciousness and spiritual convictions and, unless such a basis is provided for a people's effort to build up society and an economy, life is reduced to "sound and fury signifying nothing". Very appropriately he spoke of "Islamic Social Justice" as the main objective of a State which a Muslim people had carved out in response to their urge for free existence.

In another speech the Quaid-i-Azam made it even more clear that he seriously meant the democracy of Pakistan to be shaped and governed by Islamic ideals and principles. He said:

"It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. The Almighty has taught us that our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations." (February 14, 1948)

The Quaid-i-Azam was clear in his mind about the validity of Islamic principles for all times and situations. With regard to the shape of the future constitution, he said:

"I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught equality of man, justice and fairplay to everybody."

Even before the establishment of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam in the course of an interview with a foreign correspondent in November 1945 gave an outline of the kind of polity he visualised for Pakistan. He said:

"Politically Pakistan would be a democracy .... This would be a Muslim State. As far as Musalmans are concerned there would be no social barriers of any kind against the Hindus or anyone else. The Musalmans are a people who believe in and act on the basic principle of equality of manhood and fraternity."

He envisaged a federal form of government and said:

"The theory of Pakistan guarantees that federated units of the National Government would have all the autonomy that you will find in the constitutions of United States of America, Canada, and Australia. But 'certain vital powers' will remain vested in the Central Government such as the monetary system, national defence and other federal responsibilities. Each federated state or province would have its own legislature, executive and judicial systems, each of the three branches of Government being constitutionally separate."

The Quaid-i-Azam considered it the prerogative of the people to frame the constitution. In his presidential address at the Delhi session of the All India Muslim League in April 1943 the Quaid-i-Azam visualised, "That a constitution-making body, based on a very low franchise, would be set up" and that "it will be a people's government". "The Constitution of Pakistan", he asserted, "can only be framed by the Millat and the people.... The constitution and the Government will be what the people will decide."

The Quaid-i-Azam drew a distinction between State and Government. Explaining the significance of the change which came with the creation of the State of Pakistan, he said:

"It is natural for some to think only in terms of Government, but the sooner we adjust ourselves to new forces, the sooner our mind's eyes is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our State and of our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realize the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, on

the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure."

The stress laid by the Quaid-i-Azam on the difference between mere "Government" and possibilities of a free State shows that he wanted the people of the new country constantly to keep before their mind's eye a goal and an ideal which alone could evoke and stimulate their talents and energies to high and constructive endeavour. Without a worthwhile and soul-satisfying goal to work for, even political freedom can degenerate into putrefied existence, as has happened in the life of many nations.

The soul of the Muslim nation has to express itself in purposeful activity directed towards evolution of an ideal social structure. Government is a mere instrument; the State is something larger, nobler, more comprehensive. Awareness of this profound truth creates a psychological attitude and approach which helps both the individual and the nation to transcend momentary difficulties and obstacles and move towards a higher destiny.

In his last major pronouncement at the inauguration of the State Bank of Pakistan the Quaid-i-Azam emphasised the need of developing a new economic system which would draw inspiration from Islamic idealism. He observed:

"The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from the disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary, it was largely responsible for the two World Wars in the last half century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanisation and industrial efficiency, is today in a much worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work out our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on the true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will, thereby, be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind."

It is thus clear that he had reached the conclusion that the Western economic theory and practice had failed to do justice between man and man. What is more he believed the Muslims had a mission to give to the world an economic system based on Islamic concepts of equality and social justice.

The Quaid-i-Azam had a very deep and genuine concern for the poverty-stricken masses. He gave a warning to: "the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious,

which is so wicked, and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to argue with them.... If that is the idea of Pakistan I would not have it."

In general terms, it was the Quaid-i-Azam's belief that the social and economic order of Pakistan should be based on "Islamic social justice" which, as he said, postulates brotherhood, equality of manhood and equality of opportunity for all. He visualised an egalitarian economy for Pakistan buttressed by the leaven of Islamic moral principles and spiritual values. He did not confine himself to an enunciation of general propositions but also stated his views as to the precise nature of its economic structure even before Pakistan came into being.

In an interview with a foreign Press representative in November 1945, the Quaid-i-Azam laid down a golden rule for the future economic policies of Pakistan by remarking: "There would be ample revenues from equitable taxation levied in a manner consistent with social justice to finance good government and allow us to have a State as good as any in the world and better than many sovereign countries on the map of the world today." Stating his personal view as to the industrial policy of Pakistan, he said:

"Personally I believe that in these modern days essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the State. This applies also to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service are matters for law-makers to say, not for me."

It is clear from these observations that the Quaid-i-Azam believed in the levelling down of the menacing economic disparities which account for widespread distress and misery and a more reasonable distribution of economic burdens as well as a wider diffusion of the benefits of economic development. Such an economic order would ensure balance between the individual's urge for enterprise and acquisition and the good of society as a whole — an objective perfectly in accord with the Islamic view of life.

On two other important matters — foreign policy and position of minorities — the Quaid-i-Azam expressed clear views. In the course of a speech on February 21, 1948, he said:

"There is nothing that we desire more than to live in peace and let others live in peace and develop our country according to our own lights without interference and improve the lot of the common man."

Again in a broadcast talk to the people of USA, in February 1948, he said:

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principles of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our contribution

to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter."

It is obvious that the Quaid-i-Azam stood for an independent foreign policy directed towards furtherance of the cause of world peace and prosperity.

All his life the Quaid-i-Azam had been a sincere and consistent advocate of the rights of minorities. He always held that the acid test of the success of a State was that its minorities should feel contented and secure. Speaking on the question, he said:

"They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, their culture. They will be in all respects the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed. They will have their rights and privileges and no doubt, along with it goes the obligation of citizenship. Therefore, the minorities have their responsibilities also and they will play their part in the affairs of the State. As long as minorities are loyal to the State and owe true allegiance, they need have no apprehension of any kind."

Referring to certain tests and standards of loyalty demanded from the Muslim minority and the threat that, unless they satisfied those tests, they had no place in Hindustan, the Quaid-i-Azam said:

"Every citizen is expected to be loyal to the State and owe true allegiance to it. The arm of law should be strong enough to deal with any person or section or body of people that is disloyal to the State. We do not, however, prescribe any tests of their loyalty. We shall not say to any Hindu citizen of Pakistan, 'If there was war, would you shoot a Hindu?".

Was Pakistan meant to be a State among States or a State with a difference, a State with a specific ideal and objective? We have already seen the Quaid-i-Azam's stand on the question. In this connection it may be noted that his views are in complete consonance with those of Dr. Iqbal, the great interpreter and protagonist of Islamic ideology. Dr. Iqbal says:

"The faith which you represent recognises the worth of individual and disciplines him to give away his all to the service of God and man. Its possibilities are not yet exhausted. It can still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour or the amount of dividend he earns but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich; where human society is founded not on equality of stomachs but on the equality of spirits; where an untouchable can marry the daughter of a King; where private ownership is a trust and where capital cannot be allowed to accumulate so as to dominate the real producer of the wealth."

Should this superb, yet practicable, idealism be lost sight of, Pakistan would be faced with the danger of losing the very basis, the very *raison d'etre* of its existence. To doubt or deny the possibility of evolution of an Islamic order is to belie the whole history of the Pakistan Movement and to caste a slur on the nation which made untold sacrifices to create Pakistan with no other objective in view than the building up of an Islamic social order.

Pakistan Times, Lahore, September 11, 1969.

THE QUAID'S IDEAS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

by Khurshid Ahmad

THE Quaid-i-Azam was not an economist. But one need not be a professional economist to present ideas of historic economic importance. Often, most revolutionary, most moving and most life-giving ideas have been presented by those who had nothing to do with professional economics.

Plato, Aristotle and Xenophanes were no economists. Nor were Ibne Khaldun, Shah Waliullah and Iqbal; Lenin, Roosevelt and Churchill, men belonging to the profession of economists. But all of them have presented lively economic concepts. Their ideas moved people and brought about revolutionary changes in the life and society of man.

The Quaid-i-Azam too did not belong to the sacred community of economic *pundits*. But his economic ideas were very cogent, radical and revolutionary. It was none other than the Quaid who delineated the economic objectives of Pakistan and it would be of immense interest to study his economic ideas. These can be properly understood and appreciated in the context of the problems which beset Muslim India.

Major economic dislocations occurred in India at the advent of the British power in Indo-Pakistan. The British based their economic programme on exploitation. They came to this subcontinent as traders and their flag followed trade. The economic policies they pursued were that of laissez faire or, unhindered private enterprise. In actual fact it turned out to be unhindered British enterprise, for it was British capital that was introduced. Local industry was strangled to death. Only those fields of trade were developed which contributed to the prosperity of the British industry. The British followed an out and out imperialistic economic policy and every step was taken to strengthen the mother country — England.

By the close of the 19th century, nationalist movements began to

assert themselves and as such some new trends appeared in the economy. The 20th century witnessed the revival of agriculture and the gradual industrialisation of the country. But these new economic movements were husbanded by the non-Muslim capitalists who exploited the new opportunities to their communal ends and began to dominate the economic scene. But these Hindu capitalists had no higher ideals before them and they followed in the footsteps of the well-trodden and blood-stained track of Western capitalism.

As such our new economic system became a hotch-potch; it was semi-feudalistic, semi-capitalistic and Hindu-ridden. It had no clear goal before it. It was not based on any rational and well thought-out principles. It was a product of misdirected and uncontrolled economic movements which were floated in a blind imitation of the West. The result was a severe and widespread maladjustment.

In the domain of agriculture there were zamindari and jagirdari systems. In trade there were no rules of the game. In industry there was unreformed capitalism. In banking, the basis was on interest and usury. Institutions and policies of social and national welfare were conspicuous by their absence. And, above all, Muslims were more or less made outcasts in the world of economic enterprise. All industry and banking and all major fields of trade were concentrated in the hands of the Hindus who ruled the roost.

It was in this background that the Quaid-i-Azam tried to give a lead to the nation and filled the air with new vibrating ideas. An analysis of his economic ideas reveals four distinct trends of thought as discussed here briefly.

The Quaid-i-Azam laid great emphasis on Muslim participation in economic enterprise. He believed that prosperity could be achieved only through hard work. He emphasised it again and again that nature had unfolded limitless resources; it was for man to use them and turn the country into a land of prosperity. He exhorted the Muslims to devote more and more to economic development and strengthen their financial position.

As early as October, 1937, the League under his presidentship passed a resolution to the effect that "immediate steps" should be taken to frame and put into effect an economic, social and educational programme. "One of the major objectives of this programme was to bring about general economic development and encourage productive effort. Some of these objectives were:

(1) to undertake rural uplift work.

(2) to encourage cottage industries and small indigenous industries both in the rural and urban areas.

(3) to encourage the use of Swadeshi articles, specially handwoven cloth.

(4) to establish an industrial board for the development of industries and prevention of exploitation by middle men. (Resolution No. 14, passed under the presidentship of M.A. Jinnah at the twenty-fifth annual session of the All-India Muslim League on 15th—18th October, 1937).

Again in February 1941, he advised the Muslims in general and the Provincial, District, and Primary Muslim Leagues in particular:

"That the cottage industries should be promoted and encouraged and stores established at central places on cooperative basis." (Resolution No. 5, dated February 23, 1941).

After the establishment of Pakistan he said:

"Every new mill or factory means a step forward on the road to the economic stabilization of our country and the prosperity of its people." (Speech dated 2nd February, 1948).

All these statements of the Quaid reveal the working of his mind. It seems that according to him the just principles of the economy should be active participation in economic enterprises and sustained effort to increase production and accelerate the pace of trade.

No country can march on the road to progress without increased productive effort, without enhancing the economic capacity of the country and making the best possible use of it. The essence of the healthy aspects of the economic thinking of capitalism is, that production is the starting point of economic effort and higher the production, the better the economy. The Quaid believed in this cardinal principle and presented it with full force.

The greatest merit of capitalism is that it gives primary importance to production. In this respect it is superior to Communism which ignores the problem of production and merely concentrates on the distribution of wealth. The Quaid was very clear in his mind that although production deserves first importance, yet a proper distribution of wealth is of no less importance. Like the Communist thinkers he did not ignore the problems of production and unlike the capitalist thinkers he gave a basic importance to the problem of distribution. He was against the capitalism of Western type and emphatically declared:

"Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lesson of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. You go anywhere to the countryside. I visited some

villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilization? Is this the aim of Pakistan? Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they do not, God help them, we shall not help them."

In March 1948 he declared in Chittagong that:

"You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Muslims, when you say that Pakistan should be based on the sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism — not any other 'ism'."

Thus the Quaid's economic thinking was different from both the capitalistic and the Communistic lines of thinking. He took the best out of the two, only that which was in consonance with the teachings of Islam and the best traditions of the Muslims, and rejected the rest. In this thinking higher production and better distribution were equally important, and herein lies his unique importance. The Quaid did not content himself only by giving the above two broad principles of the economy. He went further to expound the different economic systems of his liking. A correlation of all such hints suggests that he wanted to establish a welfare economy — an economy in which equity and justice prevail and everybody gets his due share and lives with ease and contentment.

The 1937 Resolution further laid down these economic objectives:

(1) to fix working hours for factory workers and other labourers;

(2) to fix minimum wages;

(3) to improve the housing and hygienic conditions of the labourers and make provision for slum clearance;

(4) to reduce rural and urban debts and abolish usury;

(5) to grant moratorium with regard to all debts whether decreed or otherwise, till proper legislation has been enacted;

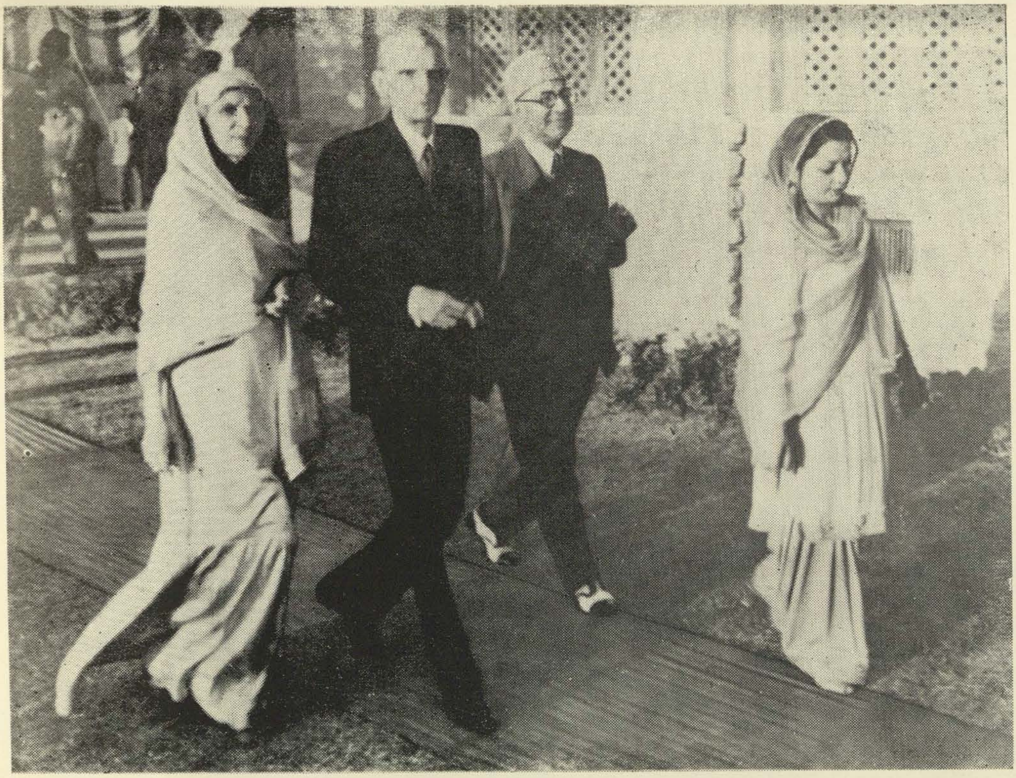
(6) to secure legislative exemption of houses from attachment or sale in execution of decrees;

(7) to obtain security of tenure and fixation of fair rents and revenues;

(8) and to abolish forced labour (Resolution Nos. 14, 15-18, October, 1937).

The above points clearly show that the Quaid-i-Azam had the idea of a welfare State at the top of his mind. He did not want to establish an economy of the Western or the Russian type. He wanted to have an economy whose basic principles were to be:

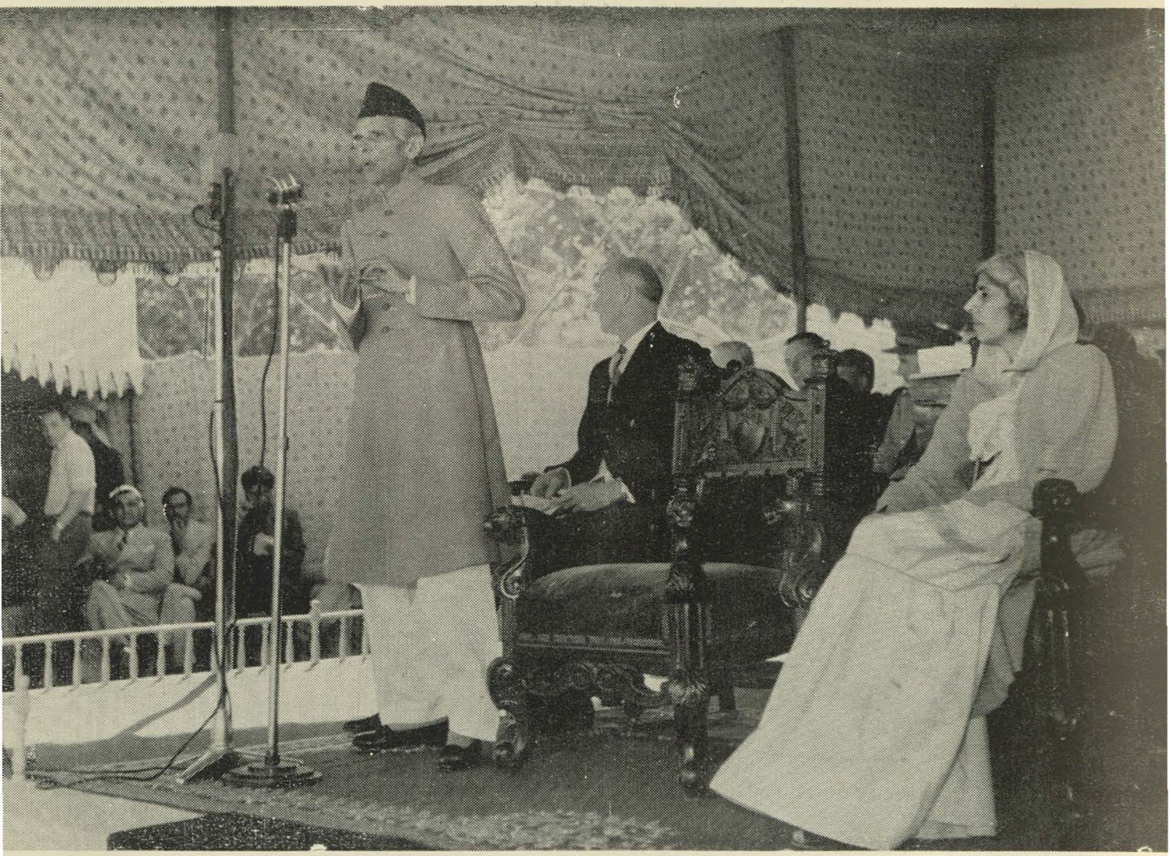
(1) Better, improved and ever - increasing production with special emphasis on cottage industries;



Quaid-i-Azam with Quaid-i-Millat, Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah and Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan.

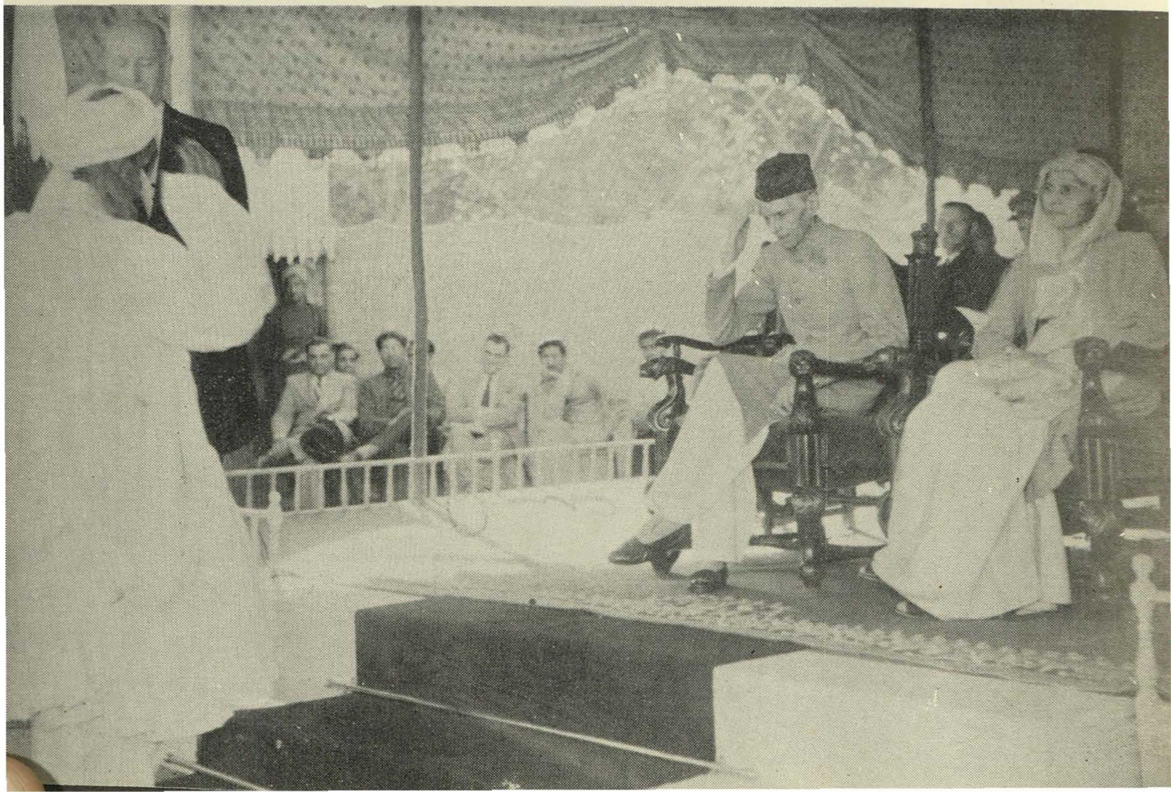
Quaid-i-Azam addressing the opening ceremony of Bengal Oil Mills, Karachi, February 1948.





Quaid-i-Azam delivering his address at Sibi Durbar 1948.

Quaid-i-Azam acknowledging the greetings at the Sibi Durbar, February, 1948.



(2) Equitable distribution of wealth among all the sectors of the economy, and;

(3) A wide net work of social services and reliefs and amenities for the people so that they may be able to enjoy the fruits of economic enterprise.

These were the economic principles which the Quaid developed and presented. He realised fully well that the contemporary economic system cannot deliver the goods. As long as blood-thirsty capitalism is there, as long as interest and usury are there, and as long as soul-tearing Communism is there, humanity cannot heave a sigh of relief and the economy cannot be fashioned on the principles envisaged by the Quaid. So he wanted his people to build a new economic system on the basis of Islamic ideology and thus translate his ideals into practice.

The 1937 Resolution pleads for the abolition of usury. In February 1941, the League under the Quaid's presidentship resolved:

(1) that no loans on interest be taken for marriage and funeral ceremonies;

(2) that the use of intoxicants and gambling should be checked;

(3) that the true spirit of brotherhood based on the Islamic conception of equality and fraternity should be infused among those Muslims who have adopted the un-Islamic view of caste based on profession and occupation." (Resolution No. 5, dated 23rd February, 1941).

In October, 1941, he appointed a Committee "to chalk out a detailed scheme for collecting systematically "Zakat", "Fitra", and skins of Qurbani and using them for the promotion of Muslim interest according to the Shariah". (Resolution No. 8, dated 26-27 October, 1941).

In his last public address delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of the State Bank of Pakistan he said:

"I shall watch with keenness the work of your (State Bank of Pakistan) Research Organization in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity, and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from the disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary, it was largely responsible for the two World Wars in the last half century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency, is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people... We must work out our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on the true Islamic concept of equality of man and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our

mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind." (Address on the inauguration of the State Bank of Pakistan, July 1, 1948.)

This clearly shows that the Quaid was striving for the evolution of a new economic system which could provide a golden mean between Capitalism and Communism and he was sure that Islam alone could provide that middle course.

Dawn, Karachi, August 14, 1961.

THE QUAID AS A PARLIAMENTARIAN

by K. Ali Afzal

THE Quaid-i-Azam was the architect of Pakistan and the grateful nation placed on his head the triple crown — Presidentship of the Constituent Assembly, Governor-Generalship of Pakistan and Presidentship of the Muslim League, the political party which formed the executive Government. Besides, his hands were strengthened with extraordinary powers.

The British Parliament had in the Independence Act given some special authority to the Viceroy and Governor-General, but these were to expire as specifically mentioned in the Act on March 31, 1948. The Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General could exercise that authority till that date. But the Constituent Assembly strengthened his hand by amending the Independence Act and extending the authority by one year.

The powers included the amending of the provisions of the Constitution Act (Government of India Act, 1935), or modifying any rule or other instrument made thereunder: "removing difficulties arising in connection with the transition to the provision of the Independence Act; varying the Constitution, powers or jurisdiction of any legislature, court or other authority in Pakistan and creating new legislatures, courts or other authorities in the country."

These extensive powers were to be exercised whenever it appeared necessary or expedient to the Quaid-i-Azam as the Governor-General by issuing orders. As Head of State he presided over the meetings of the Council of Ministers. The Cabinet established a conv ention by which on policy matters his opinion formed the cornerstone of the Governmental policy.

Thus, both by law and convention he was vested with far-reaching powers and unrestricted authority. His immense prestige in the country

and his tremendous popularity with the masses were such that anything he suggested was wholeheartedly endorsed by the nation, which always looked to him to give the lead in all matters.

One is, therefore, amazed to see the restraint he exercised on himself and the sparing use he made of the special powers conferred on him. He demonstrated his respect for the rule of law and the process of self-government. The more powers were given to him, the more conscious he became of his heavy responsibilities and the harder he worked in his old age and failing health to see to the proper discharging of those responsibilities.

In this respect he resembled George Washington to whom the American Congress had given dictatorial powers, but he too used them sparingly.

The Quaid resembled the father of the American nation in other respects also. For instance, like George Washington, he carried too heavy a burden to smile or be jovial; he was willing to stake his life for his high principles; he did not seek popularity; he hated dishonest people; he was "capable, aristocratic, commanding; he had the look of greatness."

The Quaid-i-Azam was a veteran parliamentarian and had great respect for parliamentary traditions. About six months after the establishment of Pakistan he resigned from the Presidentship of the Muslim League. The Constituent Assembly had dual functions, namely, to frame a constitution for the country and to act as the Parliament of Pakistan.

About six months after the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly, Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, one of the members of the Panel of Chairmen, was elected Deputy President and the Quaid-i-Azam ceased to attend meetings of the Assembly when it met as the Parliament.

Before the Reforms of 1919 the Governor-General at the Centre and the Governor or the Lieut-Governor in the province presided over the meeting of the legislature. An important part of the functions of the new Parliament was to criticise and control the executive.

In the Parliament — and not in the constitution-making body — the Government is present and has to face the party or parties opposing the Government. The Chair has to constantly decide issues between the Government party and the opposition party and to see that no party takes an undue advantage over the other.

The Speaker's (Presiding Officer's) position is like that of an umpire in a game. Since the Quaid-i-Azam was the head of the executive, his presiding over the Parliament would have taken democratic traditions in the country back to the pre-1919 days. Therefore, the Quaid-i-Azam presided over the meetings of the Assembly when it met as the constitution-making body and Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan presided when it met as the legislature.

The logical conclusion of this convention was to give the legislature a separate Secretariat under an officer who was not borne on the cadre of any executive service, for without the concomitant of independence the autonomy becomes ineffective. And this most likely would have been done had the Quaid's life been spared for a few months more.

In British India, the President of the Central Legislative Assembly, of which the Quaid was a member, had complained soon after the Assembly got the right to elect its own Presiding Officer, that the "smooth and satisfactory working of the legislative machinery was very difficult because it had no power to amend its rules of procedure and had no control over its Secretariat."

"The President must feel", said the elected President, "that he is getting independent and impartial advice from the Secretary; the Secretary and the staff must also feel that they are there solely to serve and further the best interests of the Assembly."

In September 1928, the right of an independent Secretariat was conceded to the Assembly and one superior post borne on the cadre of the I.C.S. was reduced by permission of the Secretary of State for India so that a non-I.C.S. Secretary to the Assembly could be appointed.

In the Despatch of the Government of India, it was explained to the Secretary of State "that in future the appointment is likely to be filled either direct from the Bar or by the Deputy Secretary who will probably himself have been recruited from the Bar."

Because one of the main functions of the legislature is supervision over the administration, it is essential that the legislature should have the right to elect its Presiding Officer, to frame the rules for conducting its business and to have its own Secretariat with officers who are not borne on any cadre of the executive service and are free from the control or influence of the bureaucracy, for in the day-to-day work and in the interpretation of the rules the Speaker has to rely on the advice of the Secretary of the Assembly.

The necessity for an independent legislature in Pakistan was not appreciated by any one better than the Quaid-i-Azam who reminded the members of the Constituent Assembly when he stated in the House: "The first and foremost thing that I would like to emphasise is this — remember that you are now a sovereign legislative body and you have got all powers."

It is reported that at one time when some officer of the Ministry of Finance had suggested to him economy for the Secretariat of the Assembly, he said, "Hands off the Constituent Assembly." He could never agree to economy at the cost of a principle.

The Quaid-i-Azam's respect for Parliamentary traditions was apparent

from the very beginning of the Constituent Assembly. At the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly when there was no Presiding Officer and no Rules of Procedure, the first act was to elect a temporary Chairman, next was to adopt the temporary Rules for conducting the business of the Assembly, and the third was to approve the set-up of the Assembly Secretariat.

This is exactly the procedure which was followed at the first meeting of an Independent Parliament like the Congress in the USA. It stands out in contrast to the procedure that was followed at the first meeting of the Second Constituent Assembly which was held at Murree and presided over by Mr. Gurmani, then Governor of Punjab, who was appointed by the Governor-General as the temporary Chairman.

Within six months of the birth of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam was left with only two offices, namely, the Governor-Generalship and the Presidentship of the Constituent Assembly. It was in his capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly that I had the honour and privilege of coming in personal contact with the Quaid-i-Azam. Here I intend to relate some of the anecdotes which will show the respect he had for Parliamentary traditions.

Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan as Chairman of the Rules Committee had presented the Report of that Committee and had moved a motion for its adoption. After the report had been presented, certain omissions were detected and Khwaja Shahabuddin was to fill the lacuna by moving an amendment to the motion.

He rose to move formally the amendment and then inquired of the Chair if the amendment, which was very lengthy, could be taken as read. "No", replied the Quaid-i-Azam, "the whole amendment must be read out in the House." And then Khwaja Shahabuddin went on reading it for the next half hour.

Some members in the lobby chuckled and thought that he was too hasty in his request; had he made the submission after reading out a portion of the amendment, possibly his request might have been acceded to. But there were others who realised that considering the importance of the Rules of Procedure the Quaid-i-Azam wanted that the Assembly should hear the amendment before it was asked to adopt the proposed change.

The additional reason for taking this course was that immediately after the adoption of the new rules, the Independence Act was to be amended to extend the period for which the Governor-General's special powers would be exercised in accordance with the procedure proposed in the amendment of Khwaja Shahabuddin.

As the Quaid-i-Azam was the Governor-General and was personally concerned in the matter, he was extra careful that the members of the Assembly

should know what they were doing, though the amendment had already been circulated to them.

The agenda of the Assembly meeting was sent to the Quaid-i-Azam on the eve of the meeting. At night he studied it carefully. He used to come a few minutes before the meeting and sitting in the ante-Chamber hear if the officers of the House had to say anything in regard to the agenda.

On one occasion, while I was briefing him in the ante-Chamber, I pointed out to him some objection about the admissibility of a motion. He asked for my views. I submitted to him that our own rules were silent about it and then stated what was the practice in British India. I further added that the procedure in the British Parliament was slightly different and explained the difference. He at once said, "We shall follow the British procedure."

From that day I realized that we were no longer to be tied down to the apron-strings of a subservient legislature of a dependent country but had to follow the practice of a sovereign and independent Parliament with the result that I delved more and more into the pages of the Hansard (Proceedings of the British House of Commons).

On August 12, 1947, the Assembly conferred on Jinnah the title of "Quaid-i-Azam". I used to announce him to the Assembly before he entered the meeting Chamber. I wanted to announce him by his title. The previous day I had announced him as "Mr. President". Ordinarily a presiding officer is announced by his designation. But the Quaid-i-Azam was an extraordinary personality. Therefore, just before entering the Chamber on the day following the conferment of his title, I asked him how would he like to be announced. He kept quiet.

Taking the opportunity of his silence, I added that I would like to announce him by his new title. There was faint smile on his lips and he said: "All Right". From that day he was always announced to the Assembly as the "Quaid-i-Azam".

Briefing the Quaid-i-Azam was a tough job, for one had to keep all the relevant facts of the case at the tip of one's fingers. He would not stand any delay after he had asked a question. He was a severe task master. Outwardly he looked very stern but he had a kind heart and was considerate towards those who worked honestly and sincerely for him. He would say by way of appreciation that he knew how hard the officers of the House had to work during sessions of the Assembly.

In British political life the pipe of Baldwin or the cigar of Winston Churchill, or the inseparable umbrella of Neville Chamberlain became famous. In this country the monocle of the Quaid-i-Azam, like

that of Sir Austen Chamberlain in Britain, became famous.

As soon as the Quaid took his seat in the Assembly his first action would be to put the monocle to his right eye, which he often did slowly and deliberately. After he had read the Agenda the monocle would drop down, as if automatically, by the twitching of the muscles of the eyebrow. His monocle became a part of his personality and suited his aristocratic features admirably.

Whether it was a meeting of the Assembly or of a committee, the proceedings over which the Quaid-i-Azam presided were conducted with dignity and decorum. In an informal meeting held in the Committee Room chaired by him, the draft resolution describing the National Flag of Pakistan was placed by Liaquat Ali Khan.

A member remarked that the proposed flag was the same as that of the Muslim League Party but with a white border added to it at the mast-end. At this there was some heated discussion. But the Quaid-i-Azam's personality was such that when he explained the genesis of the Muslim League Party flag itself and supported the proposal, it was accepted unanimously.

It was against this background that when the resolution was moved in the Assembly, Liaquat Ali Khan had, at the very outset, stated that "the flag, it may be noticed, is not the flag of any one political party or any one community".

By the middle of 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam's health began to fail and he went to Sibi. On September 11 at a party given by Monsieur Marchal, the French Ambassador, I met Sardar Bahadur Khan. When we were talking we saw Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan coming in our direction. We advanced and greeted him. He talked with us for sometime. During the course of the conversation the Quaid's name was mentioned by him. After he left we also left the party.

It was a pleasant evening and Sardar Bahadur Khan and I decided to stroll back to our residence situated side by side about a mile away from the place of the party. On the way we talked of many things including the Quaid's failing health. All that I knew of at the time, and I believe it was the same case with Sardar Bahadur Khan, was that the Quaid was in Sibi. We parted company at about 10 p.m.

The next morning I had the shock of my life to see in the "Dawn" that the Quaid's condition had suddenly deteriorated, that he had been flown back to Karachi the previous afternoon, and that he had expired at night during the time we were talking about him.

The whole nation was stunned at the tragic news which came so suddenly like a thunderbolt. His funeral oration was delivered by Maulana

Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, who said that he had dreamt about the same time when the Quaid breathed his last that a great rock had rolled down.

Indeed his personality was like a solid rock. The national home of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, of which he was the architect, stands today as a lasting monument to his beloved memory.

Dawn, Karachi, September 11, 1962.

THE QUAID AS A LAWYER

by M. Yakub Dadashi

This was the happy warrior, this is he,
Whom every man in arms should wish to be

—*Tennyson*—

WHEN, as a boy, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah saw a barrister wearing robe, wig and bands, he is reported to have said: "I want to be a barrister". And a barrister he did become. For more than forty years he practised as a top-line versatile (civil, criminal and constitutional) lawyer with increasingly massive income and a reputation, almost legendary, within the subcontinent and abroad.

Law was his first love, followed by other loves, which shaped a brilliant, epoch-making career, culminating in two events, both unique in history: deliverance of the subcontinent from foreign yoke and the carving out of the subcontinent, the independent, ideological state of Pakistan — with two wings separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory — where Muslims could order their lives in consonance with the tenets of Islam.

His astounding forensic success won praise from eminent judges, lawyers and political and other contemporaries, whether friends or foes.

What were the qualities which contributed to this phenomenal success? Those qualities—both natural and those developed by training and experience—may be summed up as follows: tall, stately figure, prepossessing mien, razor-sharp intellect, unusual mastery of facts and law, a resonant voice, effortless command of the right word, uncommonly lucid, direct and economic diction, occasional sparks of wit and sarcasm, courage, scrupulous professional integrity, self-confidence and self-respect.

It is painfully surprising that even today there linger some not negligible discrepancies in regard to the date of birth, early life and education

and family status of the Father of the Nation. These discrepancies will, it is earnestly hoped, attract the immediate attention of the Pakistan Movement Research Circle. For the present, I accept the official date of birth viz. December 25, 1876 as well as the presumably correct fact that by early 1892 when he left Karachi for London, he was not yet even a matriculate. It is also quite clear why Jinnah, then barely sixteen, was withdrawn from his school and sent to England. Was it because he was obsessed with an irrepr essible urge to become a barrister? Or, because his father was prevailed upon by a business friend, Frederick Leigh Croft who had discerned some promising traits in his first-born son. How his four-year stay in Britain was financed is also a moot point. In any case, shortly before his departure, Jinnah was married to a fourteenyear old Khoja girl.

Soon after arrival in London, young Jinnah joined an English family as paying guest and became more familiar with the English language and the modes of English life. Eager to enrich his mind, he obtained a reader's ticket for the British Museum Library and other libraries where he spent much of his time. He also paid frequent visits to the House of Commons where he imbibed the spirit of British liberalism. These experiences stood him in good stead in his future activities on the platform and in the legislature. No less rewarding was his experience of British democracy when he threw himself heart and soul into the electioneering campaign on behalf of Dadabhoy Naoroji, Grand Old Man of India, the first Indian to enter the House of Commons. While in England, he got the news of the death of his mother and young wife, but he bore the shocks with characteristic fortitude.

In London, there are four Inns. He chose the Lincoln's Inn; for, as he disclosed years later in Karachi, the Lincoln's Inn had a large fresco bearing the names of all the law-givers of the world, with the Prophet of Islam at the top of the list. This eloquent attachment to Islam manifested itself in another significant event in his public career. In 1913, he authored the first ever private motion in the Indian Legislature — the Muslim Wakf Validating Bill which was brought on the Statute.

At the Lincoln's Inn, he passed his examination in two years and became the youngest Indian to qualify for the Bar. He had, however, to stay on for another year to obtain his cap and gown after going through the formalities, including the prescribed dinners in honour of the prominent members of the Inn and other eminent jurists.

In 1890, the young barrister returned to Karachi. In spite of the pleadings of his father, whose business was on the decline, and others

in Karachi, he decided to migrate to Bombay; because — according to his earliest biographer, M. H. Saiyid who was his private Secretary for many years — "he discovered that the Law Courts of Karachi could not afford him the opportunities which he was bound to get in a wider field where, by the diligent exercise of his talents, he could relieve his beloved father from distress. He, therefore, decided to set out to conquer the world, equipped with nothing but his youth, his courage and his ambition."

The three years following his enrolment as an advocate of the Bombay High Court in 1897, were a period of hardship which he bore with his inborn grit. New to Bombay, he got few briefs. To quote M. H. Saiyid again. "The long and crowded footpaths of Bombay may, if they would only speak, bear testimony to a young pedestrian pacing them every morning from his new abode — in a humble locality in the city — to his office in the Fort, which still forms the centre of all business, and every evening back again to his apartments after a weary, toilsome day spent in anxious expectation".

He, however, kept his social contacts, impressing all as a young man of promise. Through the intercession of a friend, he bagan to read in the chambers of Mr. MacPherson, then acting Advocate General who—according to the Quaid's another biographer, G. Allana — "soon discovered that the new recruit to his chambers was a young man of great charm, ability, perseverance and integrity, and he was not slow to pass on some cases to the young Mohammad Ali Jinnah". But continues the biographer, "at this time, the Quaid toyed with the idea of taking a Government job, so that he could be reasonably assured of continuous financial security." On the recommendation of Mr. MacPherson, Jinnah was soon appointed a temporary Presidency Magistrate, by Sir Charles Ollivant, Member in charge of the Judicial Department. His term was extended for another three months. This appointment proved to be an immediate relief to Jinnah. He conducted himself as a magistrate with such ability and integrity that Sir Charles Ollivant asked Jinnah to make himself available for a permanent post on an increased scale of pay rising up to Rs. 1,500 per month. But Jinnah politely declined the offer, saying that his ultimate aim was to earn Rs. 1,500 a day. Two years after retirement, Sir Charles met Jinnah at a reception and enquired how he was doing in law. When told by Jinnah that he was earning more than two thousand rupees a month, Sir Charles congratulated him, saying that he had done well to refuse his offer.

Here I may digress a little. After the death of Sir Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash in 1923 began a prolonged litigation in the Oudh Chief Court, in respect of succession to the hereditary estates in Oudh and in the Punjab.

A single Judge decided the case in favour of Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan, a claimant. The defeated party went in appeal, enaging Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The respondent, Nawab Muhammad Ali engaged. Hasan Imam (ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court and ex-President of the Indian National Congress). In 1927, a party of the respondent's lawyers, including myself, then a junior, went to Bankipur to prepare Hasan Imam for arguing the case before an Oudh High Court Bench. Once in a reminiscent mood, Hasan Imam mentioned the average monthly (professional) income of most leaders of the Indian Bar, as follows: C. R. Das, Rs. 1,00,000; Rash Behari Ghosh, Rs. 70,000; Motilal Nehru, Rs. 56,000; his own, Rs. 50,000; Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Rs. 40,000; Tej Bahadur Sapru, Rs. 30,000; his own brother, Ali Imam, Rs. 20,000; Mian Muhammad Shafi, Rs. 15,000. Talking about Jinnah, he paid a glowing tribute to his winsome presence, his extraordinary analytical mind, his chaste, terse language and his calm forthright, sometimes stunning manner of address. He also expressed the view that had Jinnah confined himself to the practice of law, he would have topped all in point of income.

The Quaid was now going from success to success as a most gifted and dependable lawyer. Many called him "a magician with the monocle." His fame and prestige went up higher after his brilliant advocacy in two sensational cases: (1) the "Caucus Case" filed by certain citizens for the annulment of the "rigged" municipal election against Jinnah's senior, Sir Feroze Shah Mehta and (2) the Tilak Case in which Bal Gangadhar Tilak had been prosecuted for sedition. He was now in increasing demand for his service as lawyer not only in the Bombay High Court but also in other High Courts in the country.

The Quaid's many qualities of head and heart—each rare by itself and rarer in such a happy combination have been admired by all those who had dealt with him as lawyer or witnessed his performances in courts. But the qualities which enabled him to make an abiding mark on the public mind were his art of advocacy, courage, self-confidence, self-respect and integrity.

In his Recollections and Reflections, Sir Chimanlal Setalved said: "Jinnah had always, even in his junior days, shown considerable independence and courage. He never allowed himself to be overborne either by the Judge or the opposing counsel."

Wrote Mr. Frank Moraes, Editor-in-Chief of the "Times" of India in 1939.

"Watch him in the court-room as he argues a case. Few lawyers command a more attentive audience. No man is more adroit in presenting his case ......Mr. Jinnah is an artist in his craft. He bares the

bones of a brief; in stating the essentials of the case, his manner is masterly."

Mr. Joachim Alva, in his "Leaders of India" writes about the Quaid as lawyer:

"He will not grab money and will stand for his just dues and no more. As a counsel he has ever had his head erect, unruffled by the worst circumstances. No judge dare bully him. He will not brook insult. Jinnah's ready tongue and brilliant advocacy warded off all judicial storms and won him all-round admiration .... Clients and solicitors prize Jinnah's services for his matchless grit and courage to stand up for the causes he represents. He is the embodiment of the highest standards of the Bar ...... Courage and sheer independence have won him fame in the law courts. His hypnotic influence bruits his fame abroad, and the rumour of his name spreads in accordance with the thrills created by his terrific encounters with the Judges and the bomb-shell he throws in Courts. Jinnah has preserved his position at the Bar intact and unsullied. Toadying or the remotest suggestion that excites suspicion is foreign to his nature. In short he is the embodiment of the highest traditions of the Bar."

In a press article, the well-known Indian leader, Diwan Chaman Lal, Bar-at-Law, writes:

"There is a well-known story of the law courts which reveals the type of a man he is. A client came to him one day and asked for his advice. The file was voluminous and Jinnah's fees enormous. The client said he had only ten thousand rupees. Jinnah refused. Eventually the client pressed and suggested that he should stop looking at the file. At the moment the fee of Rs. 10,000 was exhausted. Jinnah gave his opinion on what he read. When accounts were made up the fee came to Rs. 3,500/. Jinnah handed over the balance to the client."

The Quaid was to argue a case in Bhopal. His arrival having been somewhat delayed, the case was called up for hearing, and his junior, Syed Muhammad Husain, a Barrister from Allahabad, began to address the Court. When Jinnah arrived, Husain stopped and asked him to argue. But Jinnah pressed him to continue and helped him during his arguments. When the hearing was over, Jinnah handed over to Husain the bulk of the huge fee he had received as senior.

M. C. Chagla, who was Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and later held the portfolios of Education and Foreign Affairs in the Indian Cabinet writes:

"Jinnah was a pure artist in the manner and method of his presentation. Even the most complicated facts, became simple and obvious when he waved his wand over them ...... What particularly helped him in his advocacy was

the absolutely clear head that he possessed and on which he justly prided himself. He had commonsense, that most uncommon of qualities, in an uncommon degree."

In a letter to Lord Birkenhead, M. K. Gandhi described Jinnah and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as the two cleverest lawyers of India.

The All-India Law Reporter, a premier legal journal of India, recorded:

"Although Mr. Jinnah's career as a politcal leader and as the representative of the successful Muslim movement for separation in India overshadows all other aspects of his life, a legal journal like this has to take note of the fact that he was a lawyer of outstanding eminence and in his death our country has lost one of its greatest lawyers. As brilliant advocate, he had few rivals. He was also universally recognised as a man of unimpeachable integrity, honoured by friend and foe alike for his incorruptibility."

In a broadcast Sir Stafford Cripps, Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer said: "He was a most accomplished lawyer, outstanding even amongst Indian lawyers, and a fine constitutionalist, ready and willing to devote himself whole-heartedly to the peoples' cause, no matter what labour this entailed for himself."

Lord Patrick Spens, the last Chief Justice of undivided India, paid a tribute to the talents of the man, the immaculate manner in which he was turned out, the beauty of his features and extreme courtesy, and added:

"No one could have made a more favourable impression than he did. There is no man or woman living who imputes any thing against his honour or his honesty. He was the most upright person that I know, and throughout his life, he never, as far as I know, for one moment attempted to deceive any body as to what he was aiming at or as to the means he attempted to adopt to get it."

In the case of Tata Industries, while decreeing the suit in favour of Jinnah's client, Justice Davar of the Bombay High Court wrote in his judgment:

"Mr. Jinnah has throughout the hearing expended much labour and argued with great skill and conspicuous lucidity." While decreeing the suit in favour of Mr. Jinnah's client, His Lordship said, "The plaintiff must feel much indebted to the exertions of Mr. Jinnah who conducted his case for the result of the suit."

In the complicated civil case of Bibi Khawar Sultan in which Aga Khan III had appeared as witness, Justice Chandravarkar of the Bombay High Court noted in the judgment that "Mr. Jinnah conducted the plaintiff's case with considerable skill and ability."

In the civil suit of Raghirji Vizpal, the same Judge, in the course of his judgment, complimented Mr. Jinnah, 'For having conducted the case with his usual ability."

In the case of Tata Industries Bank Ltd., Justice Martin said, in the course of his judgment "I had the advantage of a very useful argument from Jinnah in the course of which he has drawn my attention to all the points that can be said in favour of the client."

In the famous civil case of Raja of Nanpara in the Oudh Chief Court, the Judge recorded:

"I must also express my sense of indebtedness to Mr. Jinnah for his extremely able arguments which were of great assistance to me in the decision of several difficult points both of fact and law involved in the case."

In his memoirs, Justice M. R. Jayakar, a Judge of the Federal Court of India and later a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, quoted with approval, the following from the "Bombay Chronicle":

"If you want a case to be expounded to you, you are bound some day or other to go to Mr. Jinnah. He possesses, in a remarkable manner, both lucidity of phrase and clarity of vision."

For about four years in the 1930's, the Quaid practised before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council where he made a mark by his profound knowledge of law and his brilliant advocacy.

Referring to Jinnah's practice before the Privy Council, Lord Patrick Spens, said:

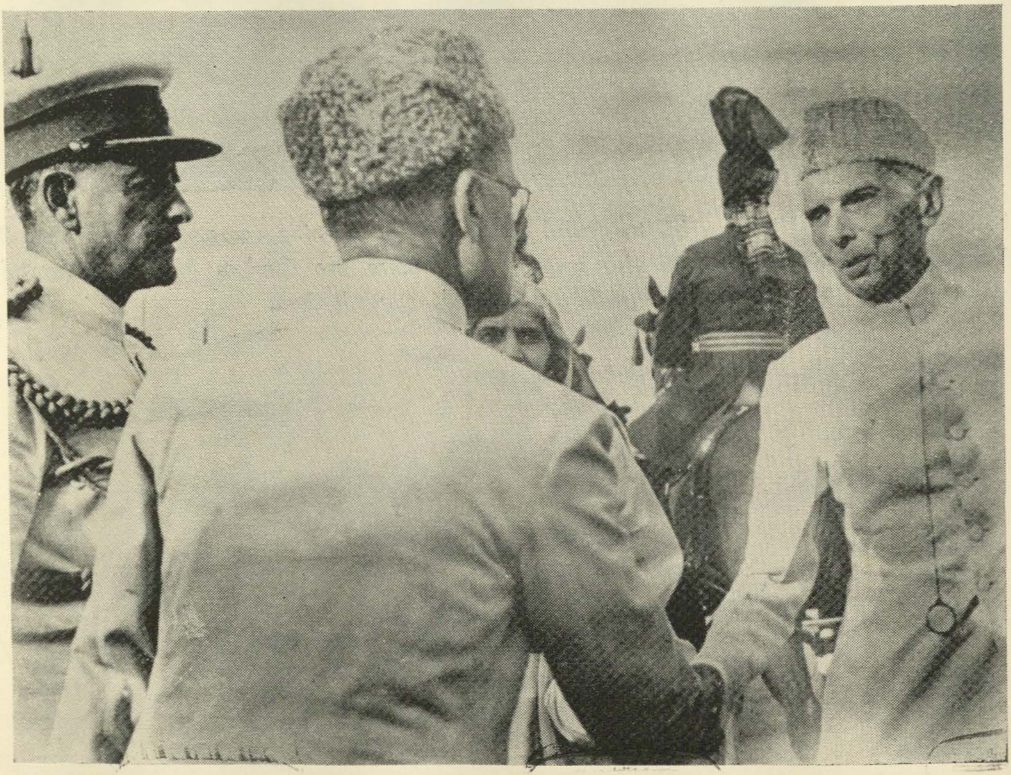
"When he arrived early in 1931, he took a big house in Hampstead, took chambers in the King Bench Walk and he started off and appeared in a number of cases before the Privy Council. No doubt he had considerable assistance from old clients in Bombay, but he made a name before the most critical Judicial tribunal, I believe, in the world, and I say that with great deference to the Supreme Court of U.S.A. I think the Privy Council is the most critical Judicial tribunal. No. one who had not first-class brains, a great power of advocacy and, above all, great tact and politeness would have made in so short a time such a fine practice as Mr. Jinnah did before the Privy Council."

In the course of his judgment in the case, Abdul Majid Khan *versus* Sarasvati Bai, before the Privy Council, Lord Thankerton wrote: "Arguments of the appellant were dealt with fully and clearly by Mr. Jinnah."



Quaid-i-Azam with his sister Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah on a state drive for performing the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Azam is being welcomed by Mr. Zahid Husain, first Governor, State Bank of Pakistan on July 1, 1948.





The Quaid-i-Azam delivering his inaugural address at the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan on July 1, 1948. Also seen in the picture are Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Governor of Sind, Liaquat Ali Khan and Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan.

Lord Jowitt of the Privy Council wrote:

"We all had great admiration for his (Mr. Jinnah's) great skill and the judgment with which he conducted his cases before the Privy Council."

Dawn, Karachi, September 11, 1968.

QUAID-I-AZAM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

by Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada

POLITICAL institutions and social structure rest on the theory that all men have certain rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which are fundamental, inherent and inalienable. Although Constitutions may and do protect and guard individual rights but such rights do not have their origin and foundation in these instruments.

It has been aptly said that constitutions sanctify and confirm great principles, but do not bring them into existence, and that a constitution is not the cause, but the consequence of personal and political freedom. Hamilton wrote, "The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged out among old parchment or musty records. They are written so, as if with sunbeam, in the whole volume of human nature, by the hand of Divinity itself, and can ever he erased or obscured by mortal power." The notion and the doctrine of natural and of human rights can be traced back to Greek and Roman philosophy. The movement in their support gained momentum during the Middle Ages. The first attempt in history to write a Bill of Rights for the whole world is found in the Declaration of Human Rights approved and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1948 — the month of Quaid-i-Azam's birth.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah always believed in and stood for human rights. In pre-Independence period he championed the cause of liberty, freedom of the Press, and other rights. In his address to the Bombay Provincial Conference, 1916, the Quaid-i-Azam criticised "the Press Act of 1910 and its arbitrary provisions and still more its arbitrary enforcement by the Executive which was subject to no judicial check." At the session of the Muslim League at Calcutta in December, 1917, the Quaid-i-Azam exhorted: "Instead of Government meeting the complaints of the

people what do they do in this country? They want to muzzle you. They say we shall pass a Press Act. If you write anything, we will, they say, strangle you. They have passed the Seditious Meetings Act to stop meetings of the people. Is this really the method by which you can continue governing people? Is it possible for any statute to destroy the soul of the people?"

Participating in the debate regarding the release of political prisoners in the Indian Assembly in January, 1926, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "Now the next point I have to deal with is to bring to trial under the ordinary law of the land such persons against whom the Government think they have sufficient evidence to go to court. Has any one suggested that those people who have committed offence against the State should not be tried or convicted? At least I have not. I never have and I repeat here again no offence against them can be condoned. It must be vigorously prosecuted but for God's sake send them up for trial and do not let them rot in jail without trial."

When Sardar Vallabhai Patel was arrested in March 1930 the Quaid-i-Azam stated: "I ask, where was the emergency which justified the Magistrate in passing an order under the Police Act? If Sardar Vallabhai had in previous utterances transgressed the limits of which no information has been given, then he should have been prosecuted for it, but now, by arresting and imprisoning Mr. Patel, in the manner he was, a dangerous precedent has been created. It was an attempt to suppress political opinion and therefore, I ask the Government of India to see that their policy of maintenance of law and order is not deflected by whimsical actions of Magistrates.

On the release of Professor Kheiri from detention, the Quaid-i-Azam wrote to him: "I am glad that you are a free man. Of course, I do not know why you were subjected to detention, but you know that I am always against any man's liberty being taken away without a judicial trial."

Long before the so-called Nehru Report of 1928, the Quaid-i-Azam had in December 1926 demanded a "Constitution which among others should secure and guarantee full religious liberty — liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education to all."

The Quaid-i-Azam was elected President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947 and the very next day under his guidance a Committee was appointed on "Fundamental Rights of citizens of Pakistan and on matters relating to minorities."

He headed that Committee and during his life time its sub-committee on Fundamental Rights had formulated an interim report which was the basis of the report presented to the Constituent Assembly in 1950. In his speeches and statements, the Quaid-i-Azam concisely and precisely

expressed his views on fraternity, protection of property, liberty, equality, justice, minorities and other rights.

In his speech at the public reception at Chittagong on March 26, 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam declared: "Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man— these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this subcontinent." In his Presidential address to the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947 the Quaid-i-Azam said: "The first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that life, property and religious belief of its subject are fully protected by the State."

Replying to the speech made by the First Ambassador of France to Pakistan at the time of presenting credentials on January 2, 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam remarked: "The cry of liberty, fraternity and equality which was raised during your Great Revolution and officially adopted by your great Republic had its repercussions throughout the world as is known to every student of history. These ideals and these principles are still buoying up the hopes of many down-trodden nations."

In a broadcast talk to the people of Australia on February 19, 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam reaffirmed: "We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake, Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like to it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in closest association with us all those who of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan."

The Quaid-i-Azam dealt with an important aspect of justice in his informal talk to civil officers at Peshawar in April, 1948. He said, "You should try to create an atmosphere and work in such a spirit that every body gets a fair deal, and justice is done to everybody. And not merely should justice be done but people should feel that justice has been done to them."

The reconciliation of the contest between Power and Liberty, between the claims of the political society on the one hand and the interests of the individual on the other, is a perennial problem — a problem of recurrent difficulty which curiously persists irrespective of any difference in the form of Government. Since the disappearance of the fetish of *laissez-faire* and the emergence of the welfare state, it is generally acknowledged that the individual can have no absolute or unfettered rights, and that the welfare of the individual as a member of a collective society, lies in a happy compromise between his rights as an individual and the interest of the society to which he belongs. Moreover, none of the freedoms guaranteed by a constitution

or otherwise can flourish in a state of disorder. In a leading case Justice Holmes observed: "The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing panic." In another case the American Supreme Court held: "The essential rights are subject to the elemental need for order without which the guarantee of civil rights would be mockery."

The Quaid-i-Azam was conscious of these principles and formulated his views in accordance therewith. As early as April, 1913, he said: "I believe in criticising Government freely and frankly, but at the same time it is the duty of every educated man to support and help the Government when the Government is right." On March 24, 1948 in a broadcast from Radio Pakistan, Dacca, the Quaid-i-Azam declared: "I notice a regrettable tendency on the part of certain section of the people to regard their newly-won freedom, not as liberty with the great opportunities it opens up and the heavy responsibilities it imposes, but as licence. It is true that, with the removal of foreign domination, the people are now the final arbiters of their destiny. They have perfect liberty to have by constitutional means any Government that they may choose. This cannot, however, mean that any group may now attempt by any unlawful methods to impose its will on the popularly elected Government of the day. The Government and its policy may be changed by the votes of the elected representatives. Not only that, but no Government worthy of the name can for a moment tolerate such gangsterism and mob rule from reckless and irresponsible people, but must deal with it firmly by all the means at its disposal."

Hardly had the work of framing the constitution begun when the Quaid-i-Azam died on September 11, 1948. He had, however, indicated the essential principles. In a broadcast to the people of the United States of America recorded in February 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this Constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today they are applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its ideals have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fairplay to everybody."

Dawn, Karachi, December 25, 1964.

QUAID'S PLACE IN HISTORY

by Sharif Al-Mujahid

THAT Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah earned for himself during his lifetime a niche in the Temple of Fame, there could be no doubt. But what place he occupies in history could be open to question. Because of the fierce jealousies he excited, because of the violent opposition he generated, because of the somewhat unconventional cause he advocated, indeed, because of the nature of his work, the evaluation is bound to be subjective: it would depend upon a number of varying factors, and largely on the angle from which one looks at the Quaid and his work.

One, though by no means the surest way, to look at him is to look at what his contemporaries thought of him. The Aga Khan III considered him "the greatest man" he ever met[1], Beverly Nichols called him "the most important man in Asia"[2], and Dr. Kailashnath Katju, "an outstanding figure of this century, not only in India but in the whole world"[3]. To George Marshal, former U.S. Secretary of State, he "was a leader unique among men"[4].

To Sarat Chandra Bose, "Jinnah was great as a lawyer, great as a Congressman, great as a leader of Muslims, great as a world politician and

1. The Aga Khan's wire to Miss Fatima Jinnah : cited in F.H.R. and R.D. Sharif (eds), "Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: His Leadership and Achievements", (Dar-es-Salam, 1949) p. 86. For other comments by Aga Khan, see "The Memoirs of Aga Khan" London, 1954, pp. 292. 298-99, 303,
2. Beverly Nichols, "Verdict on India Bombay, 1946, p. 187. Chapter III, "Dialogue with a Giant" sums up a British journalist's impressions of Jinnah and assessment of his leadership during the struggle period.
3. *The Hindu*, Madras' 13 September, 1948, p. 5, col. 5. Dr. Katju was the Governor of West Bengal and an eminent lawyer.
4. Cable to Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : *The Light*, Lahore, 24 September, 1948, p. 7, col. 1.

diplomat, and greatest of all as a man of action"[5]. President Truman felt that he "was the recipient of a devotion and loyalty seldom accorded to a man"[6]. Sir Stafford Cripps thought that "it was the honesty of his convictions and clarity of his purpose which marked him out as a great leader of his people"[7]. Prime Minister Attlee felt that "his unswerving devotion to the ideal of Pakistan and his tireless work for it will always be remembered"[8].

Equally revealing are the testimonies of Choudhry Khaliquzzaman and Dr. Sachichananda Sinha, the first President of the Indian Constituent Assembly, both of whom could by no means be described as Jinnah's admirers. Wrote the latter, "No movement was more strenuously resisted both inside and outside India than was Mr. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan. Its opponents were overwhelmingly influential and numerically so large, while its champions were few outside the League. That, in spite of it, Pakistan has not only become an accomplished fact but (what even more notable) had been acquiesced in and accepted — albeit unwillingly — by the 'Nationalists' themselves, is a conclusive proof of Mr. Jinnah's deep-rooted strength of conviction, indomitable courage, political tact and tenacity of purpose"[9].

According to Khaliquzzaman, "The Quaid-i-Azam was diligent, hard-working and a man with nerves of steel. He never wavered in the face of the worst odds. During the tripartite negotiations between the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League, many times it looked as if the League had reached a blind alley and the Congress-British combine was sure to crush it. We wavered. Everyone of us faltered, but not he. His foresight penetrated deeper more than once. He held the front, and he emerged successful"[10].

More explicit were some of the comments made on the occasion of Jinnah's death. Remarked '*The Hindu*' : "In an age which saw centuries-old empires crumble, this Bombay lawyer began late in life to dream of founding a new empire; in an era of rampant secularism this Muslim began to dally with the notion that that empire should be an Islamic state. And the dream became a reality overnight"[11]. *The Indian Express* felt that "As founder

5. *The Hindu*, Madras, 13 September, 1948, p. 5, col. 3.
6. *The Light*, 24 September, 1948, p. 7 , col. 1.
7. *The Indian Express*, Madras, 13 September, 1948.
8. Ibid.
9. Sachichananda Sinha, "Jinnah the Communalist as I know him", *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 19 September, 1948.
10. Speech at a public meeting in Karachi, *Dawn*, 13 September, 1949.
11. *The Hindu*, Madras, editorial, 13 September, 1948.

and architect of the "biggest Muslim State in the world, he won for himself an abiding place in its history. Whether this State will ultimately prove beneficial to his community as a whole is a matter of speculation, but Mr. Jinnah can be said to have lived and literally died in the service of his co-religionists"[12]. To Frank Moraes, "The Quaid-i-Azam is assured of a place among the great Muslims of our time. Kemal Ataturk revived the ramshackle state which was Turkey. But Jinnah's achievement was in a sense more considerable. Out of next to nothing he willed a State into being"[13].

"Few statesmen", wrote *The Times*, London, "have shaped events to their policy more surely than Mr. Jinnah. He was a legend even in his lifetime . . . He had few illusions. He knew that although he had himself largely fixed the hour and circumstance of the birth of Pakistan, he was director and not creator of the forces that made Pakistan possible. He knew that his work would not last unless he taught his people to be independent of his guidance, and more and more he gave over the responsibilities of government to a band of able men he had collected and trained. He stood in the background to give the people confidence, and to step in decisively when the hour required it"[14].

No wonder, even an anti-Muslim paper like the *Hindustan Times* could not help conceding him a place in history[15].

If this cross-section of comments on Jinnah's politics and achievements could be an index to anything, it is that he evoked a good deal of comment, both at home and abroad, and even from those who maintained an opposite viewpoint. Underlying all of them, however, is the central theme of his achievement of Pakistan. Had he not done anything else except this, he would still have held an honoured place in history. As the creator of a nation and a state, Jinnah takes rank with some of the greatest nation-builders in history like Cavour and Bismark, Washington and Ataturk.

On this, however, most commentators are either vague or silent. The one solitary comment that provides some clue to Jinnah's achievement in terms of Indo-Muslim history has, however, figured in unsuspecting quarters: in Shaikh-ul-Islam Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani's funeral oration. On that occasion, he had hailed him as the greatest Muslim after Aurangzeb[16].

12. *The Indian Express*, Madras, editorial, 13 September, 1948.
13. Frank R. Moraes, "Jinnah, he willed a State into being", *Ceylon Times* (Colombo), reproduced in *Deccan Times*, Madras, 14 October, 1948.
14. *The Times*, London, editorial, 13 September, 1948.
15. *Cf.* "History may convict him for his communalism, but forget him it shall never, for he has made history", *The Hindustan Times*, editorial, 13 September, 1948.
16. *Dawn*, September 13, 1948.

This title, as in the case of other claims we have already noted, rested on one supreme fact: Jinnah's achievement of Pakistan. Should this at all be the basis, then an evaluation of Jinnah's place in Indo-Muslim history would call for not only an assessment of the emergence of Pakistan in terms of history, but also a comparison of the Pakistan Movement with other movements launched by Muslims after the death of Aurangzeb, and more specifically with the Mujahidin, Aligarh and Khilafat Movements, all of which were primarily concerned with the regeneration and rehabilitation of Indian Muslims.

It is now conceded in most quarters that Pakistan, in the historical perspective, represents, in sense, the culmination, as of that date, of twelve hundred years of Muslim history in India. A climax, by its very nature, is supposed to be the sum-total of the events and incidents that have gone before. And in the case of the political history of a people, it should, as it were ,be the quintessence of the major landmarks in the evolution of their histoy, social development and tradition. In another sense, Pakistan is the d-result of the triumph of centrifugal forces in the subcontinent; the enxtraneous" element was introduced into the Indian politics when Islam c"eme into contact with India in 711 A. D.[17]. Islam "introducedinto the haeart of India" which was then inherently, essentially and wholly Hindu "a new, and in the event, unassimilable interpretation of the meaning and end of life — the Muslim"[18]. And the polarised nature of Hinduism and, Islam conspired to make the subcontinent the home of two worlds—distinct divergent, even conflicting.

The elemental clash between these two worlds was aggravated rather than softened, by the course of Indian history, primarily because the Muslims and the Hindus were destined to participate in the drama of Indian history in conflicting, indeed opposite roles: that of the conqueror and the conquered.'[19] Not that there was no culturalintermingling of the two cultural streams, but that it was only on the outer fringes. Both Hindus and Muslims were proud of their respective religions, culture, traditions, and histories and were prone to adoption of only such features of each other that could be easily assimilated and owned within their respective *weltanschauung*.

17. "A Short History of India and Pakistan", New York, 1963, p. 53.
18. P. Hardy, "Islam in Medieval India" in William Theodorede Bary (ed.) "Sources of Indian Tradition", New York, 1958, p. 369.
19. "In history", complained Bhai Permanand, a Hindu Editor in 1925, "the Hindus revere the memory of Pirthvi Raj, Partap, Shivaji and Beragi Bir who fought for the honour and freedom of this land (againstthe Muslims) while the Mohammedans look upon the invaders of India, like Muhammad bin Qasim and rulers like Aurangzeb, as their political and national heroes". Cited in Nichols, *op. cit.* pp.181-182.

True: the Indian Muslims, in their endeavours to evolve an Indo-Muslim culture, had exceedingly Indianised themselves in several spheres: in food, music, architecture, fine arts, and even in such an important ingredient of national life as language. These endeavours were actuated, on the one hand, by a genuine desire to come to terms with the local tradition in as many spheres of life as was possible, and, on the other, by their anxiety to make their rule as indigenous as possible, to make it look to the Hindus as unalien as possible so that they could, thus, be able to inspire a new sense of loyalty and attachment to their own rule or dynasty among the local population.

The Indo-Muslim culture, which had thus a "definite entity", claimed participation from both Hindus and Muslims, but soon after the advent of the British, the cultural ties with the Hindus were scuttled by Hindu revivalism. "Thus the bridges which the Muslims had taken several hundred years to build were burnt and in their place was left the deep, dark gulf" [20]. And this occurred sometime in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

There were other factors as well that contributed towards the crystallization of this trend in Indian history, into which we need not go here. Nor is this the place to consider as to how and why Islam's spiritual conquests in the north-western and eastern zones were more spectacular as compared with the rest of the subcontinent, although this factor in culminating the historical process in the emergence of Pakistan is no less crucial [21]. It should as well be borne in mind that the historical process, in view of incessant Muslim efforts over the centuries to work towards the creation of a unified, common Indian nationality and the partial success of these endeavours, was, till about 1820 slow, but perhaps sure. Now entered a third factor in the Indian body-politic which worked as a catalyst on the extant strands in Indian society. This was the challenge of the West, both political and cultural. The responses it evoked from the Hindus and the Muslims were altogether different. The birth of Hindu revivalism, which was the Hindu answer to the cultural onslaught of the West, struck a corresponding note among the Muslims. Whereas the Hindu revivalists went back to Vedanta and the India of the pre-Muslim past for their inspiration and dreams of the future, the Muslims idealised the achievements of their ancestors in India[22]. As a result, the chasm between them began to yawn, thereby quickening the pace of the historical process.

True: the movements launched by Muslims in the wake of western

20. I. H. Qureshi, "The Pakistani Way of Life", London, 1957, p. 11.
21. For a discussion of these factors in the emergence of Pakistan, see Sharif Al-Mujahid, "Pakistan : An Historical Interpretation", *Dawn*, Independence Day Supplement, 14 August, 1958.
22. Qureshi, *op. cit.* p. 12.

domination were many and diverse, both in tone and content, but they all made important contributions to the evolution of Muslim politics: to the formulation of Muslim separatism. And Pakistan which, as we have seen, represents the culmination to twelve hundred years of Indo-Muslim history, represents as well the climax and sum-total of these various Muslim movements since 1820. Now, the formulation of the Muslim demand for Pakistan in its most concrete form was achieved by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and it was, again, Jinnah who led the Pakistan movement to success. In other words, it was at Jinnah's hands that the historical process which got underway, the moment Islam was injected into India's body-politic, received its final and most important contribution before its crystallization in Pakistan. This, as it were, makes Jinnah the crystal in the crucible of Muslim leadership since about 1800. Although his achievement of Pakistan constitutes, in the popular eye, the most pragmatic test of his geatness, yet in the final analysis, and on the intellectual plane, his claim to greatness lay in the political philosophy he embraced, in the synthesis of the various strands in the Muslim intellectual and political orientation that was achieved in the Pakistan ideology.

It would be well to remember that these strands in the social consciousness of Indian Muslims had found expression in various movements befoιe the Pakistan Movement, which in the historical perspective, was synthetic, yet encompassing. Notable among them were the Mujahidin, Aligarh and the Khilafat Movements. With them, as we shall presently see, the Pakistan Movement had points of contact, but its distinctive character primarily lay in one monumental difference: whereas the Pakistan Movement took due cognizance of the inherently dual role of Indian Islam, the previous movements were almost one-sided and, therefore, partially or altogether unrealistic.

Through his physical and social contact with India (or, more accurately, Hindudom) over the centuries, but by yet remaining steadfast to his original inspiration, the Indian Muslim had developed a distinct personality of his own, marking him off both from the Hindu as well as fellow Muslims elsewhere. "In so far as he was Indianized, he had become a distinct group in the world of Islam; in so far as he was a Muslim, he was a distinct group in India. He had his connection with two worlds — the world of Islam and the world of India. With the world of Islam the relationship was spiritual which continues even today. With India, his relations were physical, political and cultural. The physical relationship continued, because he still lived in India and because of the size of his group he could not leave it"[23].

23. Ibid. p. 11.

Such being the composite personality of Indian Muslim, it is obvious that any movement aspiring to bestir him and seize his imagination should appeal to both elements in his social consciousness, and should, as well, strive towards finding appropriate and adequate expression for both of them within the context and limitations of the overall objectives of the movement. Judged by this criterion of the Indian Muslim orientation, no movement previous to Pakistan could adequately answer his innermost yearnings. Some of the earlier movements were too romantic and out of touch with the actualities and crying needs of the situation, some were too prosaic and devoid of altruism, still others were too confused in their intellectual orientation, too disorganized and too conflicting in their overall objectives. Little surprising, then, that the response evoked by the earlier movements from the sprawling Muslim community in India was but partial, even half-hearted.

The Mujahidin movement was, in a sense, the outward expression of the religious "nationalism" of the Indian Muslims at that stage of their socio-cultural development. It had nailed the transcendent ideal of an Islamic state to its masthead, which it sought to achieve through Islamic revivalism and *Jehad*. The Sikh dominions — and not the British dominions in the early phase — were declared as Darul-Harb, and a *Jehad* was launched from the northern heights to liberate the Muslims of the Punjab, Kashmir and the Frontier from Sikh oppression. It believed in revolt and revolution; it was essentially a zealot's reaction, perhaps the last outburst of medievalism, both in its tenor and its tone. It visualised the future of the Muslims in terms of their loyalty to Islam and its injunctions, and their capacity to wield the sword. Though the movement failed to achieve its ultimate political objectives, it made a signal contribution in terms of moral regeneration of the Muslims of the age. It made them all the more conscious of their moral degradation, and carried the Waliullah movement of religious and social reform energetically forward [24].

As against this, the Aligarh movement was altogether different in tone and tenor. It was realistic and modernistic, but some what limited in scope and objectives. Education — and more specifically, modern education — was to be the panacea of all ailments the Muslim community was heir to, and pure, undiluted loyalism, the political plank through which the community could come into its own. Indeed, Sayyid Ahmad

24. For a detailed discussion of the Mujahidin Movement, see Hafeez Malik, "Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan", Washington, 1963, ch. vi,; W.W. Hunter, "The Indian Muslamans", Calcutta, 1945, Masud Alam Nadvi, "Hindustan Ki Pahli Islami Tahrik", Rawalpindi, 1948; and Sharif Al-Mujahid, "19th Century Bengali Mujahidin", Pakistan Quarterly,. Karachi, Summer 1957, Vol. VII, No. 2.

Khan could not visualise a destiny for Indian Muslims, but under the aegis of British rule [25]. There was no question, then of India becoming or having become a Darul-Harb.

While the Mujahidin Movement was inherently a spiritual movement striving for a temporal expression, the Aligarh movement was essentially a temporal affair, concerning itself with their educational backwardness, economic decreptitude, social apathy, cultural decay and political apartheid. In its objectives, somewhat limited though they were, the Aligarh movement achieved considerable success. Indeed, Sayyid Ahmad Khan "brought the Muslim community out of mediaevalism into the new age; he found it backward and set it on the path of progress so that it might be enabled to meet the demands of a fast changing world"[26]. More significant was the contribution made by Aligarh as "the cradle of the feeling of nationalism among the Muslims": it kept alive the idea of a well-integrated Muslim community in the subcontinent" [27].

In one respect, however, the Aligarh school failed to meet the spiritual urge of Indian Muslims, *i.e.* in regard to their pan-Islamic orientation. So strong was this urge that even the British had thought it expedient to exploit it in their favour in their relations with Tipu Sultan, prior to the fourth Mysore War (1799[28] and during the 1857 struggle[29]. Poet Hali's "Musaddas" (1866), Amir Ali's "A Short History of the Saracens", Shibli's celebrated works, and Sharar's numerous historical novels [30] filled the minds of the nineteenth century Indian Muslims with Islam's departed glory. It so happened that in the world of that time "Turkey stood almost alone.... as the sole surviving independent Muslim nation, (and) with all its shortcomings, the imperial regime in Constantinople was a visible and enduring reminder of the temporal greatness of Islam's achievements"[31]. No wonder,

25. Like Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Gandhi also believed till about 1920 " that the British Empire existed for the welfare of the world". M.K. Gandhi, "The Story of My Experiments with Truth", Ahmadabad, 1945, pp.264, 383, 429.
26. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, "The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent" (610, 1947) S. Gravenhage, 1962, p. 251. H. Kraemer, "Islam in India Today, *Moslem World*, Cambridge, xxi: 2, 1931.
27. Qureshi: The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, *op. cit.* p. 242. The Aga Khan claims that "the independent, sovereign nation of Pakistan was born in the Muslim University of Aligarh": The Memoirs of Aga Khan, *op. cit.*, p.36.
28. A Review of the Origin, Progress and Result of the Decisive War with the late Tipu Sultan, London, 1800, Appendix C : cited in Syed Mahmud "The Khilafat and England", Patna, 1921, p. 58 See the Caliph's letter to Tipu Sultan and his reply.
29. Ibid., p. 57.
30. "In all these novels he has tried to glorify Islam. They embody the spirit abroad : the spirit to revive the glory of Islam, an important feature of the Nineteenth Century." Ram Babu Saksena, "A History of Urdu Literature", p. 340.
31. The Memoirs of Aga Khan, *op. cit.* p. 153.

they hopefully looked up to the Sublime Porte to revive that glory and restore the honour of Islam.

In his anxiety to effect an Anglo-Muslim rapprochement, however, Sayyid Ahmad Khan ignored this stand, so basic in his own time to the mental make-up of Indian Musalmans. This might also explain the series of articles he wrote against an outburst of wild, albeit spontaneous, enthusiasm among Indian Muslims that occasioned the Turkish victory over the Greeks at Thessaly (1897). The British were then allegedly favouring the Greeks, and were duly criticised at Indian Muslim gatherings.[32] Notwithstanding Sir Sayyid's admonitions and counsels, this pan-Islamic trend in Indian Muslim thinking not only remained intact, but received fresh impetus and sustenance during the next two decades[33]. Indeed, it took a crystalline shape in the next important movement launched by the Muslims, namely, the Khilafat movement.

This movement was launched in the early twenties with the twin objectives of righting the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs[34]. It was mainly concerned with the preservation and maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire which had already crumbled to pieces. Swaraj, if at all it mattered, was but a subsidiary issue, in order to gain Hindu sympathy and participation. The movement was pan-Islamic and revivalist but hardly rooted to the soil from which it was launched. Concerned with the fate of a segment of the Muslim world, it was wholly altruistic, but utterly out of touch with the realities and requirements of the situation at home.

The Indian Muslims were prepared to keep the struggle for their own emancipation in abeyance till the struggle for the sovereignty and preservation of the Turkish empire was won, and that struggle was to be waged, not on the Anatolian plains, but here in India. They had gone exceedingly anti-British, not because the British had done something monstrous to them at that juncture — in which case they should have launched an agitation on the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 — but because the Turks had not received justice in the Treaty of Sevres (1920).

More significant: in their anxiety to wage a struggle for the Turks the Indian Muslims were even prepared to merge their thus far separate entity and individuality in Indian politics, in the fathomless ocean of Indian, or more accurately Hindu nationalism. They were Pan-Islamists and Indian nationalists in the same breath, without, however, pausing to consider as to

32. Mahmud, *op. cit.* p. 60. Also Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Akhri Mazamin, Maulawis Imam-ud-Din, and Ahmad Baba Makhdumi (eds.): Lahore, 1924, pp. 38-39, 43-44, 59-65.
33. Sharif Al-Mujahid, "Pan-Islamism: A History of Freedom Movement", Karachi, 1961, Vol. III : part I.
34. Dr. Ambedkar considers the Khilafat Movement an essentially Muslim Movement : see his "Pakistan or Partition of India" Bombay, 1945, p. 136.

where their Pan-Islamism ended and their nationalism began, and vice versa. For the first time in their chequered history, they even surrendered the supreme leadership of an essentially Muslim movement to an avowedly Sanatani Hindu. [35]

This is, however, not to say that the movement was not revolutionary. On a closer look, it was a strange admixture of herodianism and zealotism. As against the Mujahidin the modern techniques of hartals, slogans, processions, mass meetings, agitation, boycott and passing of resolutions were fully and deftly exploited. The streak of zealotism was, however, provided by the Hijrah edict. Actually, nothing brings out the mental confusion of the movement as this thoughtless act of cutting one's nose to spite one's face. Like the Mujahidin, the Khilafatists declared India, a Darul-Harb, and, in consequence, called on the Muslims to migrate to neighbouring Muslim countries, but they were less consistent and much less clear in their objectives than were the Mujahidin. The latter had followed up their pronouncement by a jehad from the northern heights whereas the Khilafatists were simultaneously waging a struggle inside the country, and holding forth the vision of the establishment of a Hakumat-i-Ilahiyyah (Kingdom of God) after the successful culmination of the struggle. From all accounts, the Khilafatists were working within the framework and for the triumph of Indian nationalism. How, then, could they have so miserably failed to consider the obvious fact that were India a Darul-Harb under the British Raj, it could or would be nothing different under a Hindu-dominated nationalist dispensation either — is something that passes one's comprehension. And yet they did — notwithstanding such intellectual and political giants as Maulana Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, Hasrat Mohani, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Dr. Kichlew, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Umar Subhani and others in their ranks.

Pakistan : A Synthetic Movement

As against these movements, Pakistan was to synthesize the important strands in them: it was to include within its intellectual framework the Mujahidin's ideal of an Islamic state, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's quest for modernity and temporal regeneration, and the Khilafatists' passion for pan-Islamism and altruism. What, however, made the Pakistan movement so different from the earlier ones was, in the final analysis, the

35. Sharif Al-Mujahid, "Maulana Muhammad Ali : A Political Study", Pakistan Quarterly, Winter 1955, Vol. V., No. 4.

injection of Jinnah's unflinching realism which, in a sense, provided the leaven to these various and even somewhat mutually exclusive strands that went into the Pakistan framework.

Jinnah's Islamic state, for instance, was to be no Utopia, but should have well-defined boundaries and be, as well, firmly rooted to the soil. Its establishment and preservation should not, as was the case with the Mujahidin, be subject to the shifting loyalties and caprices of princes, Amins and Walis and unpredictable strength of their arms, but should have its basis in the social consciousness and yearning of the masses, and in international law. His quest for modernity, likewise, was to have none of Sayyid Ahmad Khan's plank of undiluted loyalism, his somewhat amateurish fascination for the West, or his deep distrust of Pan-Islamism. Nor was his passion for Pan-Islamism to find expression in emotional responses, altogether devoid of realism, or in a new crusade for lost causes to the detriment of Indian Muslims. It should, in the first place, enable an important segment of the Muslim world—in this case, the Indian Muslims — to become safe for Islam, so that it could be in a position to subserve the cause of Islam elsewhere in a more concrete and positive manner [36].

All told, Jinnah was an implacable realist. True, he could claim neither the spiritual orientation, excellence and idealism of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed nor the traditional erudition and scholarship of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad or Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani. He was neither a serious thinker and visionary like Allama Iqbal, nor a revolutionary leader and man of the masses like Maulana Muhammad Ali [37]. Yet his prescience, idealism (but tempered with unshrinking realism), intellectual vigour, faith and robust commonsense enabled him not only to remain in the mainstream of Indian Muslim orientation, but to ensure, as well, its course from being deflected into the backwaters of Hindu nationalism. Unlike most of his predecessors and contemporaries, he not only knew what he wanted but how, as well, to achieve what he wanted. The intellectual confusions and paralysing romanticism that so overwhelmingly characterised,

36. This did not mean that Jinnah did not take interest in the affairs of Muslims elsewhere; far from it. His interest in the Palestine affair, for instance, was deep and continuous : not only was His Mejesty's Government sounded from time to time but Jinnah as well extracted assurances about the curtailment of further Jewish immigration from the Viceroy in 1939.

37. "The true criterion of his greatness is not in the range and variety of hi knowledge and experience but in the faultless perception and flawless refinement of his subtle mind and spirit ; not in a diversity of aims and the challenge of a towering personality but rather in a lofty singleness and sincerity of purpose and the lasting charm of a character animated by a brave conception of duty and an austere and lovely code of private honour and public integrity". Sarojini Naidu in Mohammad Ali Jinnah, "An Ambassador of Unity", Madras, 1918, p. 19.

circumscribed and circumvented the role, objectives, and endeavours of his predecessors and contemporaries, were in any case, not among his weak points.

Nothing perhaps brings out into such sharp focus this high-point of Jinnahian leadership as his clear thinking vis-a-vis the intellectual confusions and groupings of others in regard to the position of Muslims in India. We have seen the Mujahidin's and the Khilafatists' pronouncements of Darul-Harb and Sir Sayyid's Darul-Islam in respect of India. Not only radically different from these two authoritative edicts, but utterly realistic as well was Jinnah's viewpoint, as exemplified in his demand and definition of Pakistan. In effect, it meant: "India is today neither Darul-Islam nor Darul-Harb (primarily because the British domination is not only temporary, but is as well, sure to end, sooner or later). However, there is a potential Darul-Islam in the Muslim majority provinces which has got to be rescued before the impending British withdrawal from India. Otherwise, the entire subcontinent would pass under the hegemony of a Hindu-dominated centre, and then, your religion, your culture and your civic rights would be in jeopardy. For all practical purposes, though perhaps not in law, India would, then, become a virtual Darul-Harb, and for all time to come."

Pakistan, thus conceived, had provided the one answer the Indian Islam was seeking all along: it had met the dictates of the two equally important elements in Indian Islam. Not only did the Pakistan demand visualize for Indian Islam a destiny different from and independent of Hindu India; in doing this, it had, as well, made safe an important segment of the Muslim world for Islam. This was a translation in practical terms, of what Iqbal had decreed; "For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong to form a living family of republics"[38]. In a similar vein Jinnah exhorted the Indian Muslims: "Only one thing can save the Musalmans and energise them to regain their lost ground. They must first recapture their own souls and stand by their lofty position and principles which form the basis of their unity, and which bind them in one body-politic"[39].

No wonder, the response the Pakistan ideal elicited was astonishing in its extent, exuberance and depth, indeed unsurpassed in the history of Muslim India. Whereas the earlier movements had failed to touch important segments of the Muslim community, the response to the Pakistan ideal was

38. Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam", Lahore, 1930, p. 223.
39. Speech at the League, Lucknow Session, 1937 : M. H. Saiyid, "Mohamad Ali Jinnah : A Political Biography", Lahore, 1945, p. 579.

encompassing: it was pervasive, comprehensive and all-embracing. Indeed, there was no section, whether among the Ulema, the modernists, intellectuals, professional men, or the masses, that remained untouched or unmoved by the vision of Pakistan, so revolutionary and compelling was its character.

Quaid's Contribution

Even so, in more than one sense, the response was a tribute to Jinnah, his clarity of vision, his gripping realism. To take one instance: it is highly instructive to note that he defined Pakistan not in the abstract language of philosophy, nor in dialectics, but in the simple and straight forward language of the common man. One result: the masses could easily comprehend it, joyously subscribe to it, and consciously strive for it. "All his ideas" wrote *The Times* in an obituary note, "were diamond-hard, clear-cut, almost tangible. His arguments ... were directed, dagger-like, to the single point he was attacking"[40]. Though weighty and flawless in themselves, they were, likewise, couched in easily verifiable terms, and based on such incidents, sometimes even commonplace, that the masses could feel the justice of the Pakistan demand in their day-to-day routine, in their dealings with the Hindus. "No contemporary Islamic leader", wrote Frank Moraes, "more surely understood the Muslim mass mind of India, nor knew better how intuitively to appeal to it, to cajole and rouse it. With Pakistan Mr. Jinnah rang a bell which acted like a tocsin"[41]. Indeed, no other Muslim leader before him had brought politics within the compass of popular understanding in a measure as he did. The massive electoral verdict in favour of Pakistan in the face of embattled hosts provides an unfailing index to the measure of his success.

One instance would perhaps suffice here. Almost all Muslim leaders preceding him had deeply felt and even openly declared that the Muslims were vastly different from the Hindus: some like Sayyid Ahmad Khan had even consciously used the meaningful epithet, "nation" to describe them. But before Jinnah came out with his famous definition of Muslim nationhood, the concept of Muslim nationhood was something vague, elusive, intangible, even incomprehensible — at least on the popular level. But when Jinnah asserted, "We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion; Legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and tradition, aptitude and ambitions; in short, we have

40. *The Times*, London, September 13, 1948.
41. Moraes *loc. cit.*

our own distinctive outlook ot life and on life.[42]—When he defined Muslim nationhood in such tangible terms, every Muslim found himself testifying to the justice of this claim, and subscribing to the logical corollary of the fact and recognition of separate Muslim nationhood — viz., the demand for a Muslim homeland. All told, it was this realistic approach on the part of the Quaid-i-Azam that won for him and his cause of Pakistan millions of adherents, from the highest to the lowest in the land.

So that his greatness, in the final analysis, lay in the compromise he effected between idealism and realism, between the demands of Pan-Islamism and the dictates of nationalism, between the Indian Muslim legacy in politics and the harsh realities of the mid-twentieth century Indian situation. It lay in the fact that he gave such a realistic touch to an essentially romantic ideal as that of an Islamic state in this mid-twentieth century and had it rooted so firmly to the soil as to make it practicable and realizable. He had it, as well, rooted in the popular mind to the ground work of reality as exemplified in the daily lives of the people so as to, firstly, bring the ideal within the compass of common intelligence; secondly, involve the whole nation in its pursuit; and, thirdly, achieve it within less than a decade.

In creating such an avowedly Islamic State, Jinnah had, in a sense, actualised the dreams of Jamaluddin Afghani, Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed and Allama Iqbal. In that role, moreover, he initiated an Islamic trend in the world of Islam, largely offsetting the previous pronouncedly racialist-cum-nationalist trend. In consequence, he became, as it were, the foremost leader of Islamic renaissance, even of Pan-Islam in the present century, although this natural corollary of his achievement of Pakistan seems to have received scant attention thus far.

In the annals of Indo-Muslim history, then, he represents a watershed between the past and present, and the bridge between them as well. True: without Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed's revivalism, Sayyid Ahmad Khan's modernism, Maulana Mohammad Ali's revolutionism, and Iqbal's soaring idealism — without these important contributions to the evolution of Indian Muslim politics, the historical process would not have found consummation at Jinnah's hands, and crystallization in Pakistan. Even so, the supreme fact cannot be easily ignored that the various dominant strands, (with his own unflinching realism as the chief element) made the resulting fabric, and, ultimately, this became the all-embracing and revolutionary ideology of

42. Jinnah-Gandhi Talks, Delhi, 1944. p. 22; Jinnah's letter dated September, 17 1944. Jinnah had described Muslims nationhood in various terms on various occasions but this was probably the most cogent not only among his various definitions, but also, among other definitions offered by others from time to time.

Pakistan. This fact, above all, makes him, as it were, the crystal in the crucible of Muslim leadership since the early 19th century. No wonder, the Indo-Pakistan Muslims hailed him as the Quaid-i-Azam,, "the Great Leader", and the Shaikh-ul-Islam Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani called him the greatest Muslim after Aurangzeb.

REMINISCENCES OF THE QUAID'S A.D.C.

by Lt. Mazhar Ahmed, PN

IN October 1947, when I returned to Karachi from an East African cruise, Pakistan had been formed and Quaid-i-Azam had moved into Karachi as the first Governor-General. On arrival I was taken ashore as Flag Lieutenant to the Flag Officer Commanding and was warned by the Admiral that I might have to replace the Naval ADC to the Governor-General who had spent some time already with the Viceroy of India and would be wanted back in the Service before long. In March 1948, came the interview with Quaid-i-Azam and in May of the same year I found myself in the Governor-General's House.

Quaid-i-Azam had recently returned from Lahore where his health, due to strain of over work, had received a slight set-back, and doctors recommended him complete rest.

So, in June, he left for Quetta primarily for recuperation of health, but with ample office staff to deal with the numerous daily files which he had no intention to neglect or to escape from. Such was his love for hard work. He stayed in Quetta for about 15 days. But these were a busy 15 days.

He spent most of his time going through the files, or studying local problems, except for a short trip to Sibi where he held the Annual Durbar. This was his first visit to Baluchistan as Governor-General, granting interviews to officials and non-officials, and visiting the local institutions and establishments.

On the 14th of June he gave the officers of the Staff College the honour of lunching with them and in his after-luncheon speech he complimented the Army on its splendid spirit and high morale and reminded those present of the true meaning of the oath with which they had sworn allegiance

to the Constitution and the Dominion of Pakistan. Concluding he hoped that once things in Pakistan were settled down he would find more time to establish greater contact with the Defence Forces.

This was a memorable function, for he spoke to the officers in an intimate manner, as if addressing each one of them personally: and he did not read off a paper. This was his last visit to the Quetta Staff College, though not to the Army, for in Quetta later he spent a most enjoyable afternoon witnessing the sub-area sports and shaking hands with the soldiers to whom he gave away the winning trophies. The disappointment suffered by the Army in the proposed visit of the Quaid-i-Azam to the Pakistan Military Academy which never came off was amply made up for by the Quaid's visit to Quetta.

From Quetta, in June, the Quaid-i-Azam went up to Ziarat and in the salubrious climate, amongst high rocks and the sweet smell of Juniper, and in the oasis-like atmosphere of the Residency, he spent ten happy, healthy days the memory of which will linger long in the minds of those who were fortunate enough to be then with him.

Here was neither the heat of Karachi nor the formality of the Governor-General's House. Here the Governor-General was just Quaid-i-Azam, and Quaid-i-Azam just a man on a holiday. In the Sitting Room jokes were cracked, yarns were spun, discussions were prolonged, and even the A.D.C. could talk.

Quaid-i-Azam was a brilliant conversationalist, and most of the time he talked while the others listened, attentive, admiring, sometimes as if hypnotised. As a rule his conversation was brief, pointed, subtle. But he could, when he wanted to, achieve dramatic effect. Sometimes when he wished to emphasise the point he would begin a sentence with "I tell you" and would then pause before speaking again: or would repeat his words again and again, his long finger raised high in front of his well-chiselled, expressive face.

He had a sharp sense of humour and was full of jokes and anecdotes for all occasions. At one time he was talking of his visit to the Jakko Hill in Simla and spoke of the monkeys that dwelt there. He had some peanuts in his pocket and threw a handful to a large number of monkeys at one place. He was surprised to see that no monkey moved; there was no mad rush amongst them.

The mystery was soon solved when a big fat monkey moved down from a tree towards the peanuts, and the monkeys gave way and stood in a line in silence all the chirping having suddenly ceased. This fat monkey was their leader for whom they had exhibited so much discipline and respect. Even monkeys had discipline

Simla was still the topic of conversation and I was mourning the loss of my birth place. Another guest present complained of the loss of Delhi which, though not her birth place yet had for centuries been the seat of Muslim culture... Quaid-i-Azam was silent. She tried to change the tone of the conversation and remarked that Quaid-i-Azam's personality was very auspicious.

Explaining this she said: "Quaid-i-Azam was born in Karachi and today Karachi is the capital of Pakistan." I added. "Yes. And had Quaid-i-Azam been born in Delhi perhaps Delhi would have been the capital of Pakistan". Quaid-i-Azam looked at me and smiled.

In that smile I could read again what Quaid-i-Azam in some of his relaxed moments had often impressed upon me with regard to the Indo-Pakistan question, viz that we should be on our guard against loose political thinking and false sentimentality. After a long pause he softly spoke thus: "You know, you may think I am hard-hearted. But we must build up what we have... Yes. Nature has given us everything; we have got unlimited resources..." Single-handed he had achieved for us so much. Seventy million together, could we not even build it up?

Quaid-i-Azam was always shy of exhibiting his emotions, which seldom peeped out through the window of his face. If he wanted to express himself on any subject strongly, words were the only force he used. Speaking at lunch one day in Ziarat of the terrible atrocities committed on the Muslims in the Punjab, this "Man of Hate"(The Weekly "Time", September 20, 1948) said: "It was nothing short of undeclared war but complete war on us... I can understand them wanting to kill me — for to them I was Pakistan., If I ceased to be, Pakistan would cease to be — but I cannot understand any one throwing poison in a well which was the only source of supply of water to a hospital where mercilessly butchered women and children were being nursed. It is not human. It is not even beastly..."

More with malice, less with knowledge, and sitting in Delhi, hundreds of miles away from Karachi a member of the worthy profession of journalism and a citizen abroad of a civilised, democratic State vomitted poison against the "Man of Hate" and sitting here in Karachi having shared the same roof and eaten the same food with him and having heard him speak and seen him act, I knew he was no "Man of Hate" but a political prophet who chose not to melodramatise his life.

He was a "Man of Destiny .. perhaps the greatest man of Islam after Mohammad", wrote the "Hindustan Times" on his death. But from these who saw nothing extraordinary even in Prophet Mohammad, what appreciation could be expected of the character and achievement of Jinnah.

To Quaid-i-Azam, Pakistan came first and last. Ziarat's climate had suited him and his health was improving but the State Bank of Pakistan had to be opened and Quaid-i-Azam would open it himself. Entreaties were made that the Prime Minister could perform the ceremony; a message from Quaid-i-Azam could be read out on the occasion. But no. His mind was made up. His people would be glad to see him and to Quaid-i-Azam it was a duty towards the State. So down he came to Quetta, a tiring journey of 80 miles by road and then, over the deserts of Baluchistan and Sind, a bumpy air journey to Karachi.

At Karachi surging waves of cheering, shouting, boisterous, thankful humanity awaited his arrival. Quaid-i-Azam was back, tall, smiling, his right hand waving above his head. This and the ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan a couple of days later were his laste public appearances.

Within four days we returned to Ziarat. But the climate of Ziarat is treacherous, with a sudden rise and fall in temperature. We had been only two days in Ziarat when due to exposure Quaid-i-Azam caught a chill which compelled him to keep in bed.

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah, who for years had been the Quaid's sole companion, and who shared with the people of Pakistan their fanatical love for him, in these days of ill health, looked after the Quaid-i-Azam with an affection and devotion which only a sister is capable of. Often she would go without sleep for nights on end, nursing him, humouring him, reading out to him, or just sitting by his side. Quaid-i-Azam's immense love for his sister was returned by her if anything with greater warmth. Her name for him in affection was Jinn, but he called her Fatima.

For Liaquat Ali Khan, Quaid-i-Azam had very great regard and his love for him was deep-rooted. The Prime Minister had flown to Rawalpindi to meet the UN Military Mission which had just arrived in Pakistan. From Rawalpindi he rang up and said he would fly to Quetta and wanted to know whether it would suit Quaid-i-Azam if he motored up to Ziarat the same evening and stayed the night with him or if he spent the night in Quetta and motored up the next morning.

It was morning and the Quaid was in bed and not in too good a state of health. I gave him the Prime Minister's message and with deep concern in his voice he dictated to me the following answer: "Please do as is convenient to you. But please do not overdo."

Having worked himself to weak health, Quaid-i-Azam did not want Liaquat Ali khan to do the same. Only those who were familiar with Quaid-i-Azam's temperament and habits could see in this reply and even more so in expression of his face as he dictated it, his deep affection for the person of

Liaquat Ali Khan and his consideration for the onerous duties of a Prime Minister.

This incident has also an amusing aspect. The conversation which took place between us is as follows:

Always careful of what one said in his presence and how one said it, I began: "Sir, the Prime Minister has rung up from Pindi. He is coming to Quetta today and wishes to know if he can drive up to Ziarat this very evening or ..." Interrupting me, he made a correction. From Pindi the Prime Minister is going to Quetta."

Not realizing the full significance of this interruption, I again began: Sir, the Prime Minister is coming to Quetta today and wishes to ... The Quaid very coolly emphasised again: "From Pindi the P.M. is going to Quetta..."

I saw the point and repeated after him: "From Pindi the Prime Minrister is going to Quetta..." After this there was no interruption.

To one who lived with him in close contact, many facets of his chaacter gradually revealed themselves. In Quetta at a Garden Party the Quaid-i-Azam was going round talking to the guests. One of the guests, a Baluchi Sardar, insisted on shaking hands with him. Quaid firmly refused to do so saying: "If I shake hands with you I must shake hands with everyone else" (which would not have been possible as there were many hundreds of guests and time to go round was limited).

With immene confidence in himself and in full knowledge of the admiration which the people of Pakistan felt for him; and not seeking ordinary populariy he sought to treat all and sundry alike, making no distinction between and man.

The extent of people's admiration for him was such that whenever drove out in public or attended a function the crowds not satisfied with a mere glimpse pushed themselves towards him to shake him by the hand and when than was not possible they would touch the car in which he drove with their hands or rub their bodies against it. For them the sensation of a hpysical contact with him, or with something that belonged to him was essential to complete the ecstacy of a "Didar" ("blissful vision").

Towards the end, though he continued to wear the clothes that he had, he stopped buying cloth manufactured in foreign countries. Home-made cloth, though coarse and hand-spun, found its way into his wardrobe. Fatima Jinnah paid visits to Quetta handloom factories to give them encouragement.

From him one was always learning something new — qualities that went to enrich character, values that brought wider outlook on life. Once he asked me to get him three woollen vests as it was getting cold in Quetta. I got him these ("those which have fitted Quaid-i-Azam are women's size" —

I pointed out to him. He smiled, but determined to wear them all the same).

On first wash tiny holes appeared in the vests. I was sent for and shown these. I felt sorry, and said that I had made a mistake, and would have them exchanged. But as luck would have it these were the only woollen vests left in the whole of Quetta, and the shopkeeper had them darned.

Quaid-i-Azam was not satisfied. The fault was not mine, "the customer can make a mistake sometimes, " Quaid-i-Azam said. Since the goods were damaged the price of the vests had to be knocked down, and when I brought back a fiver to return to him, the Quaid's manner was almost paternal. "Good boy. You must learn the value of money." Rolling in riches himself, he had to teach care-free youth a valuable lesson.

On the 13th of August he came down to Quetta, completing the first stage of his journey towards the capital. In Quetta his health began to improve, but on the 6th ot September suddenly he developed fever. On the 11th we flew to Karachi. On this dark evening my association with him on this earth was for ever ended.

THE LAST DAYS OF QUAID-I-AZAM

by Farrukh Amin

WHEN Quaid-i-Azam departed from us, the loss was too deep for tears, and the hearts of the people of Pakistan wept more bitterly than their eyes. For he it was who gave us a homeland and the right to live with honour amongst the nations of the world. He was not only the Creator of Pakistan and of an era of independence and self-realisation for us, but he was like a father to all Pakistanis and was loved, respected and revered by all.

The news of his demise was most grievous and it shocked and stunned the whole nation.

Time no doubt is a great healer, but even now it is no easy task to talk of the last day of the Quaid-i-Azam without feeling the great loss with the same poignancy and pangs of uncontrollable grief. To me — as to so many others who had the privilege of being close to him — the Quaid-i-Azam can never be dead. His graceful figure rises before the mind's eye — now with its polite, dignified smile, now with its awe-inspiring look — at the mere mention of his name.

The Quaid-i-Azam had extraordinary will-power and tremendous confidence in himself, which both his friends and foes have recognized and admired. He held his own ways, where weaker men gave way. There was, therefore, something tragic in the way he, the hero of many battles and victor of all, obeyed the summons of the Almighty.

Not even we who had anxiously watched his fight against failing health from day to day could believe that he lived no more, for we have seen him so many times overcome the repeated illness by sheer will-power!

How my good fortune brought me close to Quaid-i-Azam, was a surprise to me, and I remember the details vividly. It was in New Delhi on the 23rd of July 1947, four days after the formation of the Provisional

Government of Pakistan, when unexpectedly I received word that I should see Mr. Mohammad Ali, Secretary-General to the new Government, at 10 a.m. I went to him and he selected me for appointment on the Personal Staff of the Quaid-i-Azam and asked me to go and report to the Great Man.

This sudden development in my very placid life made me both happy and nervous. An opportunity to serve the Quaid-i-Azam, the maker of our nation and the founder of our State, and to be near him, was the greatest privilege that could be imagined for a Pakistani, and I felt happy. But I felt nervous too.

So far I had seen and admired the Quaid-i-Azam from a distance, on the public platform and the Assembly Floor, but being so near to such a great man was different. It was, therefore, with no easy steps that I made my way to 10, Aurangzeb Road, where I sent in my name. Mr. Mohammad Ali had telephoned about me, and I was immediately admitted. I walked into the study and then suddenly I was in his presence. This was the greatest moment of my life.

The Quaid-i-Azam was seated in a sofa smoking a cigar and beckoned me to sit down. My excitement and nervousness still had the better of me as all the time I wondered what he would expect of me and my work. Soon, however, the Quaid-i-Azam in his inimitable way, put me at my ease. He asked me questions about myself, my career, my plans for moving to Karachi. Then, in a tone which removed the last vestiges of my nervousness, he asked me, pointing to a heap of telegrams and messages he had received from all corners of the earth on his appointment as the Governor-General of Pakistan, whether I would "kindly" start with them and sort them out.

Two weeks later we arrived in Karachi and immediately plunged into a vortex of official functions. On the 14th of August when the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met for the first time the Quaid-i-Azam asked me to accompany him to the Assembly Chamber. This was his first official function. The roads were lined with members of the Armed Forces and the public and a sea of faces was to be seen on all sides. The full-throated shouts of " Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad" and "Pakistan Zindabad" made my heart swell and brought tears of happiness into my eyes.

The Quaid-i-Azam also was visibly moved and remarked pointing to the people what wonderful human material we had and how, if their enthusiasm was directed into the proper channels, Pakistan would become one of the leading States of the world.

As we passed the YMCA building on Strachen Road, he described the institution as an example of organisation and how a handful of people had set up branches in all quarters of the world. He went on to mention

the Parsi community — a small fraction of the population of India, but rich and honoured because of their industry and organisation. "If only we can organise all the Muslim people"; the Quaid-i-Azam added, "we can achieve miracles."

Although the Quaid-i-Azam never rested a moment after he became Governor-General and literally worked himself to death, his first two months were the busiest and most anxious. It was a period when Muslims were being mercilessly butchered in East Punjab, and the West Punjab Government which has had a Muslim League Ministry only from the 16th August, was suddenly confronted with the stupendous problem of refugees. It was a time of great trial and had he been unnerved then, Pakistan would have succumbed in the very hour of its birth.

The Quaid-i-Azam exerted himself to the utmost and thundered in those uncertain days, "Pakistan has come to stay" and, as everyone now knows, it stayed and shall stay. But at what grievous cost to himself!

Some people have blamed the Quaid-i-Azam for being cold. No doubt, he retained balance and poise and showed no weakness when smaller men were swayed by passion and wanted to give vent to it. If he did not keep his head cool, who would? But mentally he suffered deep anguish.

Often in those days did I find him walking up and down his bed room at dead of night. If he did not have to exert as he did in those days, he might still have been in our midst.

It was during the second visit to Lahore in October 1947, where he had an attack of influenza, that I realised how difficult he was in the matter of his personal health. I respectfully suggested to him twice to let us arrange for the best doctor available but he would say, "Amin, there is nothing wrong with me. I have had this bad throat on many occasions, and I know what to do."

He did not like doctors "to experiment" on him as he put it humorously. He had also an aversion to a nurse attending on him probably because he did not want to be helped by others. In the beginning, I used to pick up his papers or pen to place before him, but he did not like it and would always help himself.

The Quaid-i-Azam always had firm views and convictions. And yet it is very wrong to say that he did not accept any suggestions made to him. He was not only the Governor-General of the State, but the Quaid-i-Azam of the nation and knew best what was best. And though I was an humble official, he did listen to my views on any point and would take great pains and time to convince me — and of course always left me convinced.

Though his mind was usually made up he sometimes relented and

paid us the compliment for our sincerity, by accepting our advice in harmless matters. I remember for example when he planned to visit Kakul and open the Pakistan Military Academy in May 1948, and suddenly became too indispcsed to travel, he insisted upon going as, apart from having taken a decision once, any changes in his official engagements were most repugnant to him. But we all felt that he should not go and in the end he accepted our advice and agreed to the cancellation of the visit.

Our relations were not always merely that of Goverr or-General and a small official. The Quaid-i-Azam had a lovable human touch when he relaxed. He was very kind and considerate to me. Very often he would afford me the privilege of discussing his thoughts and impressions with me. At Lahore, when India had landed its troops in Kashmir, one day he said what a great tragedy it was for the Muslim nation that our enemies always had men from amongst us to do their work for them.

On another occasion at Ziarat conversation turned to those Muslims who had joined the Armed Forces during the war and had taken to drink in the hope of pleasing their British Officers. The Quaid-i-Azam said that it was a poor commentary on the character of man if he tried to win favour by such means. "People", he said, "should do the job entrusted to them, however small, ably and well, and sooner or later their industry would be recognised and rewarded. No employer would hold back a deserving person from going ahead. If the members of Government services learnt this principle and there was no manoeuvring for position or intrigues for promotion, nepotism and favouritism would come to an end, and our body-politic would become much healthier than it is."

On yet another occasion we received a letter from a certain Muslim organisation which made quite a number of demands. His comment was, "Their demands should be the lowest and their aspirations should be to make the biggest sacrifices, that they can and surely they will reap the fruit of their efforts."

On a more pleasant occasion, he said that Ziarat, which he loved, could be made into a beautiful city, with big comfortable hotels, nice bungalows, parks, flower gardens and so on. He added smilingly, "You know I dream, and sometimes my dreams come ture. Pakistan was one such dream. Similarly I dream about Ziarat too, and it may one day come true."

The personality of the Quaid-i-Azam was so powerful that all the moments I had the privilege of being near him remain imprinted on my mind. I shall sooner forget myself than the memory of those precious moments.

The Quaid-i-Azam had a keen sense of humour — his one quality generally unknown to the people. He was simply charming at times. He often regaled us with anecdotes and jokes at the dinner table.

One joke that has stuck in my memory was as follows:

A certain Indian Judge was strolling on the platform of a small country station in England where the train had stopped for an unduly long time when a top-hatted Englishman got down from his first class compartment and coming straight to the Judge asked, "When is the train due to leave." "How do I know", the latter replied.

"Surely you ought to know. Are you not the Station Master?" said the top-hatted Englishman.

"No, I am not", said theJudge with some acerbity.

"Then," retorted the Englishman "Why the hell do you look like one,"?

The details of the Quaid-i-Azam's last illness are now more or less known to the public. Since he would not spare himself from official work at Karachi and carried on with his work and visitors even during the week-ends at Malir, he was advised a change. He left for Quetta on the 25th of May but cut short his rest and recuperation in the end of June and came down to Karachi to inaugurate the State Bank of Pakistan.

During his stay in Karachi he overworked himself with the result that he returned to Baluchistan a tired man with the good effects of his rest lost again. When he was taken ill, Fatima Jinnah did her best to persuade him to send for specialits from abroad, but he would not agree. I do not know how many sleopless nights Fatima Jinnah spent running between her room and ministering to his needs.

One day one of, the doctors attending on him said, "Quaid-i-Azam, we need you for another ten years to strengthen Pakistan which you achieved after such a long struggle."

I am told that he did not let the Doctor even finish. "I have done my job", he said, "I don't mind dying now—but I don't want to die in Ziarat". Then he added the famous words, some of which he later repeated in his Independence Day message. "You have got everything — a free and independent country where you can shape your life to your own pattern. Nature has given you everything: you have got unlimited resources except coal and iron, and these you can easily get from other countries in exchange for your surplus commodities. It is now for you, the younger generation, to build up and strengthen your country."

During this period once while reading an official documents, his glasses dropped down. He picked them up but they dropped again and I said,

"Sir, they have become loose". "Yes, Amin", he said, "I thought I would put on more flesh here, but on the contrary I am losing". It was most pathetic to watch him in the grip of unrelenting external forces.

Throughout his illness, until he was absolutely spent, he continued to attend to official work. We might not inform him but once he knew he insisted on doing it. I will never forget the occasion when he signed one of last official documents granting full powers to Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan to represent Pakistan at the U.N. He was very weak and asked me to help him sit up. I did so and he said, "Hold me fast". The words were uttered as if in command, but how very weak was in the tone!

My heart wept and I was miserable. This frail body, which I held, was the very one which had defied the Indian leaders for years and organised Muslims from a pawn in the game into a powerful nation, be reduced to this state! He was tired when he had got through with the paper, and said in a peculiar touching voice, "Amin, I am out of breath and you are also out of breath". I was certainly out of breath, but not because the effort of holding him up had tired me. It was the effort to control my emotions. I held, in my hands, and close to my body, the beloved of the Pakistan Nation, the one man at whose words millions would run forward to lay down their lives and here he was powerless in the grip of illness. The mental agitation was too much for me and, as soon as I had laid him down again, I ran from the room unable to control my emotions.

Thereafter I avoided going to him as much as possible because whenever he saw me he would think of some official business and speak about it. On the 10th of September at Quetta he called me: "Is everything ready"? he asked, "Supposing I want to leave for Karachi today." The arrangements at Malir where he wanted to spend his convalescing period were complete although we did not expect to move down until the 15th.

I said "Yes, Sir". "Have you got anything important to show me", he added after a pause. "There is nothing, Quaid-i-Azam", I said, and was amazed and moved to tears at his perpetual concern for matters of State even in such a delicate condition. The next day we left Quetta.

A few hours after arrival at Karachi his condition suddenly took a turn for the worse. I had the privilege to be near him up to the last. At 10-10 p.m. that day, the doctor, in order to make him fight the illness said, "Quaid-i-Azam, you are going to live."

"No, I am not,' said the Quaid-i-Azam prophesying his end and within fifteen minutes he was no more. The Father of the Nation was dead. He had departed from our midst and joined the immortals. His last moments were very peaceful and in his death he looked more serene and

dignified than ever.

As Khwaja Nazimuddin in his first broadcast on his assumption of office as Governor-General said, there cannot be another Quaid-i-Azam. What he did nobody is now in a position to do. The various qualities he had few can combine. For ever and ever we shall remember him, but no greater tributes could be paid to his memory than to make his creation "Pakistan" strong and great. This was the one ideal always in his mind.

"Dawn", Karachi, September 11, 1949.

QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIOGRAPHY

by Prof. Ziauddin Ahmad

1876 : Born on December 25, 1876 at Karachi.

1882 : Admitted to a school in Karachi at the age of six.

1886 : Attended Gokul Das Tej Primary School, Bombay for one year at the age of ten.

1887 : Came back to Karachi after one year and joined the Sind Madrasah High School.

1891 : Admitted to the Mission High School at the age of fifteen.

1891 : Married to Amai Bai, a Khoja girl from Kathiawar.

1892 : Discerning in the bright promising youth the rays of greatness, Sir Fredrick Leigh Croft, a business friend, persuaded his father, Jinnah Poonja, to send his son to London to study law. In 1892, when only sixteen years, Jinnah went to England to study for the Bar and was admitted to Lincoln's Inn. During this period of study, his young wife died as well as his mother. His father's business suffered a set back and he was facing financial difficulties.

1896 : In 1896, he qualified for the Bar with distinction and returned to Karachi in his twentieth year — was greatly influenced by Gladstone, Morley and Dadabhai Naoroji with the ideas of liberalism.

1897 : In 1897, he sailed for Bombay to practise at the Bombay High Court.

1900 : In 1900, he accepted the position of temporary Presidency Magistrate in Bombay.

1906 : In 1906, attended the Indian National Congress as private Secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji.

1910 : In 1910, elected to the Imperial Legislative Council from Bombay.

1912 : In December 1912, Jinnah without yet becoming a member attended the Muslim League session at which the Constitution was amended,

Swaraj or Self-Government the new demand of the Constitution.

1912 : In 1912, he made important speeches in the Imperial Legislative Council on Police Administration (in March) and Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill (in April).

1913 : In 1913, nominated for another term of three years by the Governor-General to the Imperial Legislative Council and very ably piloted the Criminal Amendment Bill and Musalman Wakf Validation Bill.

1914 : In 1914, he led the Congress delegation to England in connection with the reform of the Secretary of State's Council for India and to secure Indian representation on that important body.

1916 : In 1916, re-elected to the Imperial Legislative Council.

1916 : In 1916 he initiated the Lucknow Pact. The Congress — League conjointly settled a detailed scheme of reform as a definite step towards self-government. Muslims won a victory as the Congress accepted the most important issue of separate representation claimed by the Muslims — Jinnah became the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

1917 : In 1917, at the instance of Jinnah, a Memorandum signed by 19 Hindu and Muslim Legislators and known as the "Memorandum of the Nineteen" was submitted to the British Government urging immediate transfer to Indian hands of a substantial measure of self-government.

1917 : In June 1917, became President of the Bombay Home Rule League founded by Dr. Annie Basant.

1918 : In April 1918, married Ruttenbai Petit, daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit.

1918 : In December 1918, Jinnah opposed the farewell to the retiring Governor, Lord Willingdon, spoke vehemently in the public and scored a great victory. As a tribute to his bold leadership the citizens of Bombay built a memorial hall in his honour, called Jinnah Hall.

1919 : In August 1919 birth of daughter Dina.

1920 : In 1920 resigned from the Congress as a protest against Gandhi's decision to launch the non-cooperation movement which meant a departure from the policy of constitutional agitation.

1923 : In November 1923, re-elected unopposed to the Central Legislative Assembly.

1925 : In February 1925, appointed to the Skeen Committee to advise on the Indianisation of the Army and the establishment of a military training college, on the pattern of Sandhurst. He visited England.

The outcome was the establishment of the military college at Dehra Dun.

1927 : In 1927, the British Government appointed an all-British Statutory Commission, known as the Simon Commission, to review the working of the Government of India Act of 1919 and make recommendations for further extension of self-government. On the initiative of Jinnah, Hindu and Muslim leaders issued a Manifesto urging boycott of the Simon Commission because Indians were not associated with the Commission.

1928-29: In order to solve the political crisis, the All Parties Conference in 1928, appointed a Committee under Pandit Motilal Nehru to produce a scheme for the Constitution of India acceptable to all communities. The report of the Committee known as Nehru Report was published in August, while Jinnah was still in Paris. The Nehru Report was unacceptable to the Muslims as it recommended the immediate abolition of separate electorates, reservation of seats and weightage for the Muslims. Jinnah after his return to India spoke before the All Parties Convention which was meeting at Calcutta in 1929 and persuaded them to accept some of the Muslim demands, but in spite of his best arguments and appeals the Convention rejected all his amendments. The Congress on Gandhi's motion recommended the entire Nehru Scheme to the British Government.

1929 : Then in March 1929, Jinnah, at the All India Muslim Conference held at Delhi drew up his famous Fourteen Points in order to clarify the Muslim position, in regard to the future constitution. These points were accepted and exercised a tremendous influence on the trends of Muslim political thought for the better part of the next decade. Its salient features were:

(1) a federal constitution with residuary powers for the provinces;
(2) two new Provinces of Sind and Baluchistan to be created.
(3) autonomy for all provinces.
(4) one-thrid representation for Muslims in the Central Legislature;
(5) separate electorates to continue until voluntarily surrendered;
(6) constitutional safeguards for the protection of Muslims' religion, culture, language, etc.

1929 : In June 1929, he wrote a letter to Ramsy MacDonald, Prime Minister of England, suggesting a Conference of the representatives of India

for arriving at a solution of political problems. A similar suggestion was also made by Sir John Simon. Accordingly it was decided by the British Government to call a Round Table Conference in London.

1930 : In November 1930, he attended the first Round Table Conference, in London as one of 58 delegates. He met many times Allama Iqbal, the poet-philosopher, who was also one of the delegates to the Conference and was profoundly influenced by his scholarship and political thinking.

1930-34: From 1930-34, he settled down in England at Hampstead Heath to practise at the Privy Council Bar.

1934: In 1934, Liaquat Ali Khan who went to London for honeymoon, met Jinnah at a reception and persuaded him to return to India to steer the ship of Muslim politics, as the Muslim League lost its dignity and power.

1934 : In 1934, re-elected member of the Central Legislative Assembly.

1935 : While Jinnah was in London, the King gave assent to the Government of India Act of 1935 which envisaged the Federation of the whole of India in order to introduce responsible government at the centre. But it was not enforced as the Princes declined to join the Federation. The Provinces were increased to eleven and given complete autonomy with elected Ministry. The only attempt made to satisfy the Muslims was the Communal Award. Jinnah was not satisfied with the "Award", but in his Assembly speech of February 1935, he accepted it until a better substitute was agreed upon by various communities.

1936 : In 1936,the Muslim League at its Bombay session elected Jinnah as President of the Central Parliamentary Board and empowered him to officiate the Provincial Boards to fight the elections under the new Constitution.

1937 : In 1937, the Lucknow session of the Muslim League under Jinnah's presidentship, changed its goal from Dominion Status to Full Independence. This session proved a landmark in the history of the Muslim struggle for separate existence.

1939 : On December 22, 1939, a "Day of Deliverance" and Thanksgiving as a mark of relief from the atrocities of the Congress regime under which Muslims had suffered in the seven provinces at last ceased to function, was observed. Jinnah's appeal touched a deeply responsive chord in the hearts of the Muslims and other minorities like the Depressed classes, Indian Christians

etc; and the "Day" was observed with great solemnity and enthusiasm by the Muslims and other minorities all over India.

1940 : In 1940, to give a concrete shape to the idea of "two-nations" theory, the All India Muslim League session was called at Lahore under the presidentship of Jinnah. In his presidential speech, the Quaid-i-Azam convinced the Muslims of the significance of one independent Muslim Sovereign State, where they could pursue their own way of life and develop according to their own genius. On March 23, the "Pakistan Resolution" was passed which ultimately led to the division of India into two Independent States — Pakistan and India.

1940 : In 1940, the grateful nation conferred the title of Quaid-i-Azam, the Great Leader on Jinnah.

1942 : Jinnah was disappointed with Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission of 1942 which envisaged a new "Indian Union Constituting a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs; and all this upon the cessation of hostilities."

1942 : He founded the Muslim daily "Dawn" in 1942 for crusading against the formidable opponents, the Congress and the British; and also espousing the cause of the Muslims.

1944 : Jinnah - Gandhi talks began on September 9, 1944 but these talks fell through as Gandhi was not willing to concede to the Muslims a "Sovereign Independent State."

1946 : The overwhelming victory of the Muslim League at the polls (general elections) in 1946, both in the Provinces and in the Central Assembly increased Jinnah's confidence. Muslim India had given a clear verdict. The Muslim desire for a separate homeland was no longer questioned by either the British or the Hindus.

1946 : Jinnah accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946. The Plan was based on "Grouping" of Provinces, the groups to be autonomous. Communication, Defence and Foreign Affairs were to be administered by a Union Centre. The Congress also accepted the Scheme, but soon after, put its own interpretation on the basic clauses. For instance, it claimed that any Province or part of a Province could opt out of a Group even before the Constitution was framed.

Jinnah at once reacted to the prejudiced view of the Congress. He contested their claims and the British Cabinet upheld his con-

tentions. The Cabinet Mission Plan was, therefore, scrappeo

1946 : On December 2, 1946, Jinnah was invited by the Prime Minister of England along with the Viceroy, Lord Wavell and the Congress leaders to confer with His Majesty's Government for the last time, in an effort to save the Cabinet Mission Plan. The discussions were unfruitful and on December 6, the Government issued a statement regretting that no agreement had been reached.

1947 : After Jinnah's return to India, Lord Mountbatten was appointed new Viceroy in March 1947. He became busy discussing and negotiating with the new Viceroy.

1947 : Riots began.

1947 : On June 2, 1947, Lord Mountbatten invited the Muslim League and Congress leaders to discuss the June 3 Plan. It was accepted by both the leaders. It conceded the partition of India, subject to the wishes of the people in the Muslim majority areas being ascertained.

1947 : Finally Lord Mountbatten, the Viceroy, announced his "Plan of June 3, 1947" declaring the partition of Indian into two independent sovereign States — Pakistan and India.

1947 : On June 10 and 13, the Plan was ratified, respectively by the Muslim League and the Congress. By July 20, "the free will of the people" was known.

1947 : Pakistan was placed on the mapof the world on August 14, 1947 and the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah became is first Governor-General and Head of the State.

1947 : On August 7, 1947 he flew from Delhi to Karachi to assume his new position as Head of the State.

1947 : On August 11, 1947, he delivered his presidential address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan wherein he appealed for freedom and tolerance.

1947 : On August 14, 1947, Quaid-i-Azam was installed as Governor-General in the presence of the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten; and the new flag of Pakistan feew on all public buildings.

1947 : On August 15, the first Cabinet of Pakistan was sworn-in.

1947 : In October 1947, he visited Lahore during the Kashmir trouble, and was persuaded by Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck not to take military action in Kashmir.

1947 : On December 1, he returned to Karachi after a brief illness.

1948 : On July 1, 1948, he performed the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi.

1948 : On July 24, for his treatment he moved to Ziarat, but on August 13, 1948 on doctor's advice he was removed to Quetta.

1948 : On September 11, he was flown back from Quetta to Karachi and the aircraft landed at Mauripur at 4-15 p.m. He breathed his last at 10-20 p.m. and joined the band of immortals.

He was buried the next day at 6 p.m. with full military honours. The funeral was attended by almost the entire population of Karachi. For three days all shops and offices, factories and public institutions were closed to mourn the loss of the Father of the Nation.

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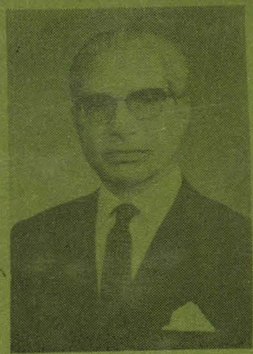
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Prof. Ahmad is a veteran journalist and was associated with the leading English dailies of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, "the Pioneer", Allahabad; "the Bombay Chronicle;" "the Daily Gazette", Karachi; "the Dawn", Delhi, and "the Star", Allahabad. He was also the leader writer in "the Civil and Military Gazette", Karachi. He was Editor of two weeklies, "the Onward" and "the New Order", Allahabad and the journal "Pakistan Productivity". He is a frequent contributor to the leading papers and journals of Pakistan, U.K. and U.S.A.

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